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The Week

PRESIDENT Roosevelt has held numerous conferences with congressional leaders and Treasury advisers in an effort to map out a fiscal program to be submitted to Congress in the near future. Indications are that the new soil-control program, offered as a substitute for the A.A.A., will be financed by an excise tax on food processors whose receipts would go into the general treasury fund and thus get around some of the constitutional objections raised by the A.A.A. Senator Pittman practically buried all remaining hope of getting permanent neutrality legislation at the present session of Congress by announcing that he, as administration leader, would endeavor to get the Foreign Relations Committee to report out at once a resolution extending for another year the present temporary neutrality legislation that expires on February 29. Former Vice President Charles Curtis died on Saturday. After the city of Pekin, Illinois, had been tied up for three days by a general strike, leaders called off the strike when the American Distillery Company agreed to sign a contract with its workers. In the subsequent proceedings, the workers gained most of their demands, including reinstatement of strikers, an increase in wages and recognition of their own A.F. of L. union, as opposed to a company union.

AROUSED by a confidential report circulated by Foreign Minister Eden giving details of the speed and extent of Germany's arming, the British Cabinet is now reported ready to offer to Parliament a vastly enlarged armament program for Great Britain. The program is said to call for an expenditure of $2,000,000,000 in three years and to provide for war preparations on a scale greater than anything attempted before 1914. Growing coolness between Poland and Germany, ostensibly because of the Reich's non-payment of tolls for rail traffic across the Corridor, led some observers to believe that Poland might once more be brought under French influence. Meanwhile the Winter Olympic Games, with America participating, opened in Germany in a heavy downpour of snow and Nazi oratory. A Nazi organizer in Switzerland, Wilhelm Gustloff, was assassinated by a Jewish student from Jugoslavia, and Jews throughout Germany live in daily fear of reprisals. It was thought that the presence of so many foreign visitors for the Olympic Games prevented overt outbreaks. President Roosevelt outlined tentative plans for an Inter-American peace meeting—to be held after the Chaco peace between Bolivia and Paraguay is signed—to emphasize and strengthen the good-neighbor policy prevailing in the two Americas. Widespread anti-Communist drives, in most cases attempts by existing governments to discredit oppositionist forces, were reported in Central and South America.

CHILE, after months of attempted dictatorship by reactionary elements, has now apparently gone completely fascist. According to a special dispatch in The New York Times, President Alessandri has seized the occasion of a railroad strike and other labor troubles to disperse Congress, put the country under martial law, arrest political leaders and owners of opposition newspapers. Those arrested include former Cabinet ministers, three prominent

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Council, and about six hundred others, who will be sent to concentration camps in the frigid south. Like all other Fascist bullies, Alessandro as an excuse for his action charges a Communist plot directed from Moscow. The real fact, however, is that democratic forces within the nation interfered with his reactionary policies. A strong leftist bloc in Congress, made up of members of the Radical, Radical Socialist and Socialist parties, controlled fifty-five votes in the Chamber against the government's eighty-five, and twenty-two votes in the Senate against the government's twenty-three. Since the separation of Church and State in Chile, this opposition has tried to prevent disguised state subsidies to the Church as desired by Alessandro, and has blocked other dictatorial measures. Under the guise of a drive against foreign communism, numerous other South American countries have recently abandoned democracy and have suppressed the growing movements of their own masses. This trick has now been worn so thin that it is transparent. But we suppose reactionaries everywhere will go on using it.

MANY thousands of Americans must have read with bewilderment the news that President Roosevelt is planning to hold a new Pan-American Peace Conference to meet in the near future. With the settlement of the dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay, there is now no serious tension between any two states in this hemisphere. It is true that in several of them there are grave internal disorders which the existing governments, as usual, are blaming on Communist propaganda; but this is not a matter for international consultation such as President Roosevelt proposes. No area in the world is so well supplied as is Latin America with treaties providing for arbitration, conciliation and the renunciation of war; yet all of these treaties combined did not prevent Bolivia and Paraguay from fighting, or manage to stop that conflict before they were exhausted. Washington dispatches say that at the new conference, the Monroe Doctrine may be changed from a unilateral policy of the United States to an international declaration of principle. But the Monroe Doctrine was abandoned by this country, in its old form, several years ago, and Latin America well knows it. Only in regard to Cuba is our policy now a source of irritation, and certainly we won't alter that policy under pressure from a conference. It seems to The New Republic inevitable that the charge of playing domestic politics should be made in connection with this proposed meeting. There are millions of American pacifists who know that this country is doing little to help peace in Europe and nothing to help it in the Orient. A spurious achievement at a counterfeit Pan-American conference might net the Democrats some pacifist votes. There can be no other important result.

OUR idea of perfection in error is exemplified by Mr. J. P. Morgan's statements to the Senate Munitions statements were 100-percent wrong, both in general and in particular. Mr. Morgan was opposing the suggestion to take the profit out of war by high taxation of the rich. The last war, he said, had "saved civilization." "I'm wondering," answered Senator Bone of Washington, "what's going to happen to civilization in the next war." "If you destroy the leisure class, you destroy civilization," retorted Mr. Morgan. Later, besieged by reporters, he defined the leisure class as including "all those who can afford to hire a maid." He estimated that there are 30,000,000 families in this class. Let us enumerate the errors. (1) Civilization will be less endangered by war than by taxation to discourage war, taxation that is so high as to destroy "the leisure class" in time of hostilities.—No comment necessary. (2) Civilization depends on "the leisure class."—No, we shall never have a secure civilization without leisure for all, which will come when we have a system that is able to produce enough and distribute it equitably. (3) All who can afford to hire a maid belong to "the leisure class."—No, many who hire maids are engaged in important professional or other occupations. (4) There are 30,000,000 families that have maids.—There are not more than 30,000,000 families in the United States. There are only 45,000,000 persons "gainfully occupied" altogether, and three-quarters of these are not maids. The correct figure is probably not over 2,000,000. Of course one does not expect too great accuracy from impromptu statements of this sort, but this one was peculiarly revealing of the fantastic ideas that find lodgment in the minds of those who rule us.

WE QUOTE from a news article—a supposedly objective, non-editorial news article—in The New York Times of February 6:

> Mr. Morgan left [the Senate munitions inquiry] knowing that he had won the friendship of every member of the committee. Mr. Nye and his committee colleagues joined in saying that nothing to the discredit of Mr. Morgan or his banking house had been developed in the more than two weeks of investigation of the wartime operations of the House.

Another quotation from The New York Times, of February 10:

> The final report of the Senate munitions inquiry will not support a conclusion that his committee has given the banking firm of J. P. Morgan and Company a clean bill of health in connection with American entry into the World War, United States Senator Gerald P. Nye said last night. . . .
>
> "When the report of our committee is printed, those who bother to read it will not have any reason to conclude that it constitutes a clean bill of health for the banking house of Morgan.
>
> "It would not be fair to say that the House of Morgan took us to war to save their investment in the Allies, but the record of facts makes it altogether fair to say that these bankers were in the heart and center

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Query: where did the article in The Times of February 6 come from?

ONE of the most attractive little books that has come to our desk in recent months—with an original cover design, large print on fine white paper, beautiful illustrations both in photograph and drawing—is called "Little Waters." From the title and appearance one might easily infer that it was poetry or belles lettres, but as a matter of fact it is a government report, issued coöperatively by the Soil Conservation Service, Resettlement Administration, and Rural Electrification Administration. It deals with the problem of conserving the fertility of the land through the proper use of the little waters: "rainfall, water in the soil, rivulets that flow off the land, creeks and other headwater streams, ponds and small lakes." Everyone who loves forest and field, fish and birds, moisture and humus will enjoy reading it and looking at the topographic maps, the pictures and well drawn diagrams. But the book is far more than a means of enjoyment; it is a demonstration of the need for the widest possible soil conservation. Water and wind erosion together remove 3,000,000,000 tons of soil annually; 300,000,000 tons blew away from the wheat plains on May 11, 1934. Nothing but our own effort will prevent large sections of this country from becoming another Gobi desert.

THE general strike in Pekin, Illinois, the first day of which is vividly described by W. D. Trowbridge in this issue of The New Republic, was ended by voluntary decision of the strike leaders. The action was taken after officials of the American Distillery Company, whose dispute with their workers had been the primary cause of the trouble, had promised a genuine effort at agreement. As we go to press such an agreement has apparently been reached. Under pressure from federal and state mediators, the distillery company has given way to the strikers on the questions of seniority rights, salary adjustments and the rehiring of dismissed men. The general strike undoubtedly brought about the end of the distillery strike, by giving it national publicity and by putting strong pressure behind the efforts of the state and federal mediators. While it lasted, the general strike was probably the most successful in American history; the unions took over the town and no business was done that did not meet their approval. Though this strike came to a satisfactory conclusion, it should not be forgotten that in present conditions in America, the general stoppage is a dangerous weapon. It is easy for the enemies of labor to make the charge that a revolution is being attempted and despite the patent absurdity of such an accusation, it is likely to gain wide credence and turn public opinion against the workers. In most cases it would be much better for the trade unions to show their strength and solidarity by suspending all activity for a specified period—say, three days—calling for ratification by conventions in the states

ONE of the most stubborn of the wrong notions that many people hold about the Soviet Union is the idea that the spirit of self-criticism is completely lacking. George Soule, in his article in last week's issue of The New Republic, dwelt at some length on the degree of freedom enjoyed by the Soviet citizen, and a striking instance has just come to light as a result of the recent ten-day test period to try out the value of the Stakhanov system of rationalized distribution of tasks in industry to increase output. Normal production quotas were deliberately raised for the test period, and even these advanced figures were exceeded in most industries. Some divisions, however, failed to meet their quotas, and one of these—somewhat disconcertingly—was the very coal field and the very mine in which Alexei Stakhanov himself works. The general results were so good that delinquent divisions were rebuked by the government and admonished to organize on a more efficient basis at once. To be lumped with these delinquents in a blanket indictment was a bitter blow to Stakhanov and his fellow miners. He was only one miner, and the condemnation had been issued by the powerful central government, yet he sat down and wrote a letter arguing that the fault was not that of himself and his fellow workers. Stakhanov said the real blame lay with the Department of Mines, a division of the central government, because it failed to supply enough timbers for adequate propping, and Stakhanov and his drillers were forced to stand idle for hours at a time while timbers were being obtained. If half the Hearst accusations of "oppression" and "absolutism" in Russia were true, such an act would have meant at least the firing squad for Stakhanov. It will be a blow to Mr. Hearst to hear what actually happened. Stakhanov's letter was printed in full in Pravda, the official government newspaper, for February 6.

THE article by Dean Lloyd K. Garrison of the Wisconsin Law School, in The New Republic of January 29, called "The Constitution and the Future," has attracted a good deal of attention throughout the country. Not only have newspaper editorials discussed the amendment proposed by Mr. Garrison, but a joint resolution has been introduced in the House by Representative Walter M. Pierce of Oregon, embodying this amendment. Both Mr. Pierce and most of the editors who have written on the subject take the attitude that, whatever the final judgment may be, here is a proposal that deserves thorough discussion. In view of the Constitution-worship that organized wealth in the United States is now promoting in its own selfish interest, the admission that an amendment enlarging the powers of Congress deserves at least a hearing is a decided step in advance. Representative Pierce has subsequently written us that he believes all proposals for amendments should contain a provision

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hibition repeal. The Garrison amendment reads as follows:

> Congress shall have power to promote the economic welfare of the United States by such laws as in its judgment are appropriate, and to delegate such power in whole or in part to the states. Existing state powers are not affected by this Article, except as Congress may occupy a particular field.

Roosevelt's Biggest Failure

IT IS one of the major ironies of the political situation that a President attacked in the roundest terms for being communistic, and one who loses no occasion to hurl defiance at the big selfish interests who oppose the welfare of the common man, has in practice fallen down completely on the most obvious and most necessary measure to improve the condition of the poorer strata of the population and to promote the general welfare. We refer to housing. A public-housing policy is taken for granted, not only by socialist governments, but by capitalist ones everywhere else in the world; no state in a modern industrial society can claim even to be halfway humane or intelligent unless it seriously tackles this problem. As long as the present administration does not do so, those who are inclined to rally behind it because of the strong words of its enemies should be warned that they are engaging in a sham battle. For this crucial matter is a symptom and an index of what may be expected all along the line.

So often have the facts been repeated that by this time they have assumed the form of a primer. What is the most necessary single development for revival of industry and employment? Construction. What kind of construction is most needed, both in prosperity and in depression? Good housing for those in the lower-income brackets. Can this housing be provided by private enterprise, stimulated by the profit motive? No; private enterprise has not supplied it either in this or any other industrial nation for the past fifty years; it is not doing so now and it cannot do so in the future. The workers' incomes are too small compared with the cost.

The latest piece of evidence on this point was the brief submitted to President Roosevelt by the National Public Housing Conference, a brief prepared by Evans Clark, economic adviser to the New York City Housing Authority. Mr. Clark points out that the disbursements or commitments of the major federal agencies nominally concerned with housing total more than $6,500,000,000, yet of this sum less than one percent, or $61,000,000, spent or pledged by the housing division of the P.W.A., has been in aid of genuine low-rental housing. The rest has gone into mortgage refinancing under the Home Owners' Loan Corporation and the Farm Credit Administration or into similar projects. The study shows once more that low-rental housing for urban slum dwellers requires substantial government subsidy, has had a veritable boom of private building during the depression. This, and not her balanced budget, has been the chief factor in restoring British production to the 1929 level.

What we need is a permanent federal public-housing authority, independent of existing departments and with authority either to build directly or to coöperate with local public agencies that are ready to go ahead if they receive the necessary aid and encouragement. Bills embodying these principles have been before Congress for over a year. They may be changed in detail. It ought to be possible to draft such a bill that is constitutional. But if for any reason the Supreme Court should decide that it is unconstitutional, the trouble will be, not with a sound housing policy but with the Constitution, as interpreted. If government cannot attend to this sore and clearly demonstrated need, the Con-

tive and ownership. One-third of all the tenant families in sixty-four cities in 1933 paid less than $5.75 a room for rent, and about two-thirds could not pay more than $6.25. The lowest rental per room achieved by private limited-dividend corporations is nearly twice as high. "Rents must be brought down to about one-half of what private initiative thus far has been able to achieve at even a modest profit, in order to give our slum dwellers decent, healthful homes."

The administration is evidently being swayed at present by the absurd claims of the Committee for Economic Recovery that sufficiently low rents can be produced by private initiative. A representative of New York private real-estate interests, Mr. Peter Grimm, has an important post in the Treasury. Announcements have been made that no more housing grants will be available. The President has not lifted a finger to support the efforts of Senator Wagner and Representative Ellenbogen to obtain congressional enactment of a permanent housing policy and authority. As in so many other cases, the administration has talked loudly about public-housing construction, but has done next to nothing about it, and now appears about to surrender the slight advances it has made.

Recently much has been said concerning the revival in residential construction. It did increase 92 percent between 1934 and 1935. But in 1935 it amounted to only $479,000,000, which was just about 17 percent of the 1928 total of $2,788,000,000. If private residential building does make the long climb back to 1928, it will have built a lot of detached houses to be sold to people who are likely to lose them in the next depression, and apartments that rent at figures above what two-thirds of the city population can afford to pay.

A public-housing policy would not interfere with any revival of private building that may be in prospect. It would serve people that private builders do not serve in any case. It would stimulate better standards among private builders. England, which has built millions of homes with government subsidy, has had a veritable boom of private building during the depression. This, and not her balanced budget, has been the chief factor in restoring British production to the 1929 level.

What we need is a permanent federal public-housing authority, independent of existing departments and with authority either to build directly or to coöperate with local public agencies that are ready to go ahead if they receive the necessary aid and encouragement. Bills embodying these principles have been before Congress for over a year. They may be changed in detail. It ought to be possible to draft such a bill that is constitutional. But if for any reason the Supreme Court should decide that it is unconstitutional, the trouble will be, not with a sound housing policy but with the Constitution, as interpreted. If government cannot attend to this sore and clearly demonstrated need, the Con-

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Will the Miners Win Again?

IN THE four months that have elapsed since the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor, one thing has become fairly clear: the question of industrial versus craft unions has become the dominant issue in the American labor movement. The break between the industrial unions, under the leadership of John L. Lewis, and the conservative officials of the A.F. of L. has grown increasingly sharp, and it may result in open warfare at any time. Does this presage a definite split in the ranks of organized labor or can a compromise solution be achieved?

At first glance, certainly, the prospects for a truce that will be satisfactory to both groups hardly look encouraging. At their recent convention in Washington, the United Mine Workers of America—the largest and most powerful union in the A.F. of L.—went on record unanimously to support the organization of industrial unions in the mass-production industries. The miners also gave their approval to the Committee for Industrial Organization, though two weeks earlier the Executive Council of the A.F. of L. had ordered the committee to dissolve because of the danger that it might become a dual body within the Federation. The committee, headed by John L. Lewis and composed of eight national and international unions with a total membership of more than a million, was recently formed to promote industrial unions.

Significantly, there was a wildly enthusiastic demonstration at the convention when the 1,700 delegates, representing more than 500,000 miners, authorized their officials to withdraw from the A.F. of L. should that be necessary to further the cause of industrial unions. To be sure, this action does not necessarily mean that secession will actually occur. In the first place, the miners cannot be expelled, since it is highly improbable that the craft unionists can muster the votes—a two-thirds majority of the A.F. of L. convention—necessary to revoke a charter. Second, it is equally improbable that the miners are eager to withdraw—at the present time at any rate. Just twenty-five years ago the United Mine Workers, assembled in convention in Columbus, Ohio, made a similar threat. It sent an ultimatum to the Executive Council of the A.F. of L., then in session in Washington, declaring that the miners would leave the Federation unless the Council granted an industrial charter to the metal miners, who were then organized in the Western Federation of Miners (the name was subsequently changed to the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers). That ultimatum brought an exceedingly prompt and gratifying response—a telegram on the following day from President Gompers declaring that the desired charter had been granted.

History, of course, does not have to repeat itself and certainly there are no indications that the present Executive Council will yield in this manner. At its most recent meeting in Miami last month, the council made several decisions that the industrial unions interpret as a direct attack on their position. It not only condemned the Committee for Industrial Organization but also took several steps to block the growth of industrial unions—at least within the A.F. of L. It denied a national charter to the radio workers, 25,000 of whom are now organized in federal unions. These unions are at present industrial in form, including all workers in the various plants, from skilled to unskilled. The Council, however, disregarding the wishes of the radio workers, turned them over to the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The representatives of the radio workers last week defied this action and there is now danger that the radio union will be expelled from the A.F. of L. Similarly, appeals from the auto and steel workers for industrial charters were flatly rejected.

It is quite apparent from these developments that the controversy has passed far beyond the stage of an academic discussion on the best method of organizing the unorganized in modern industry. During the coming months both groups will be building their forces for a showdown at the November convention of the Federation, and this will lead almost inevitably to strife. The United Mine Workers, for example, have just amended their constitution to cover jurisdiction over workmen "in and around coal-processing plants." This strikes directly at the various craft unions that now claim jurisdiction over the mechanics and other skilled workers employed in the by-product plants. In Texas, the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers' Union is already involved in controversy with fifteen craft unions. The Oil Workers' Union, which is modeled after the United Mine Workers, recently obtained an election under the National Labor Relations Act in a campaign against a company union. The craft groups, however, immediately stepped in and protested to the National Labor Relations Board. It was claimed that the Board had erred in making the Oil Workers and not the craft unions the appropriate unit for collective bargaining. In somewhat the same fashion, some of the craft unionists attempted last year to have the Guffey coal bill amended so that skilled mechanics would be taken out of the jurisdiction of the U.M.W. At the miners' convention Lewis referred to this attempt as a "dastardly, diabolical betrayal of every element of fair play that should exist in the labor movement."

It is these and similar actions of the craft-union leaders that explain in large measure the role of Lewis today. Every attempt that is made by the craft unions to raid the jurisdiction of other industrial or semi-industrial unions is a threat to the integrity of the United Mine Workers' organization. Every argument advanced to sustain the jurisdiction of the craft unions over mass-production workers (frequently only paper jurisdictions) is equally an

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is that the miners are strong enough at present to resist such invasions. However, Mr. Lewis is wise enough to see the desirability of having strong allies. The fact that the last convention of the A.F. of L. repudiated the industrial charter granted twenty-five years ago to the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers was in itself a warning of no small import.

It seems clear that the conservative craft leaders are strongly determined not to give up even their paper jurisdictions. They see that the issue involves not merely their control of their own organizations but the control of the fundamental policies of the Federation itself. All their actions to date indicate that they would rather force a split in the labor movement than relinquish any of their present prerogatives. Thus it is by no means impossible that they will force a secession movement. For it is unlikely that the industrial unionists will concede defeat under such circumstances. Speaking for the miners, Mr. Lewis addressed the Resolutions Committee of the Atlantic City convention when it was considering the revocation of the charter of the Oil Workers' Union, and said: "If you expel this union, then you might as well sharpen your knives for a real fight, for by that act you are expelling the United Mine Workers." Continued obstruction of the industrial union movement may precipitate that fight.

Anti-Crime—Or Anti-Labor?

GOVERNOR Lehman's crime program, consisting of some sixty anti-crime bills now pending in the New York State Legislature, has aroused grave misgivings on the part of organized labor. At least six of the proposals would present employers and anti-labor judges with effective weapons for suppressing labor activities. It is extremely doubtful whether these same measures would have any real value in suppressing crime.

One of the bills, for example, would make fingerprinting compulsory in cases of disorderly conduct. Pickets and strikers are almost invariably arrested for disorderly conduct, but genuine criminals are rarely, if ever, picked up on this charge. A companion bill would prevent the return of fingerprints on acquittal. Thus these two measures would turn the police department into a private detective agency for the purpose of furnishing employers with complete records of strikers and pickets—a sort of permanent black list. At present, when pickets are arrested, they are usually released within a few hours. The requirement of fingerprinting would inevitably mean long delays—perhaps as much as a day—since a magistrate would be powerless to parole or fix bail until he had before him the fingerprint record of the picket. Such delays, obviously, might seriously hamper strike activities.

Another measure would give magistrates the power to cite for contempt. The ostensible purpose is that the miners are strong enough at present to resist such invasions. However, Mr. Lewis is wise enough to see the desirability of having strong allies. The fact that the last convention of the A.F. of L. repudiated the industrial charter granted twenty-five years ago to the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers was in itself a warning of no small import.

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Another measure would give magistrates the power to cite for contempt. The ostensible purpose is an orderly courtroom, but competent magistrates can do that without this power. On the other hand many magistrates, especially in New York City have repeatedly shown that they are extremely hostile to organized labor, and there is little doubt that they would be inclined to misuse this great power against pickets and strike sympathizers.

Even more menacing, however, are two other proposals. One would make presence of a pistol or other firearms in a room or automobile "presumptive evidence of its illegal possession by all persons occupying the place where same is found." The other would repeal the present law that requires the testimony of an accomplice to be corroborated by such other evidence as tends to connect the defendant with the commission of the crime. These measures would undoubtedly make convictions easier, but many innocent persons might be convicted. The frame-up possibilities in each of these measures are obvious. Spies and stool pigeons could implicate labor leaders in serious crimes, such as conspiracy, and convictions could be had on evidence that might be wholly false. The experience of organized labor amply proves that such laws would be dangerous strikebreaking weapons for employers.

It is also proposed that five-sixths jury verdicts should be sufficient to convict. This is a sharp departure from the fundamental concept of Anglo-Saxon justice that a person is innocent until proven guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. Like the other proposals, it is made on the assumption that criminals frequently escape punishment because of loopholes or weaknesses in the existing judicial process. But convincing evidence on this point is lacking, and in its absence such drastic changes seem decidedly unwise. Juries are infrequently "hung" by only one or two dissenting jurors. But when that occurs, it merely means that the accused is entitled to a new trial. Criminals often go free today because of the vicious relationships that exist in criminal courts between judges and district attorneys. The remedy, it would seem, is not a fundamental change in law, but a change to a more honest administration of the laws we now have.

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"Our Gene"

IF YOU want to see what the face of fascism looks like (one of its faces, anyway, since it seems to be turning into an extremely hydra-headed monster) take a good look at Governor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia. He looks innocent and harmless enough—sort of like a cross between a ventriloquist's dummy and a sour-faced owl—but don't be fooled. The dummy is not so dumb and the owl can do a powerful lot of hooting. Our Gene's scrooching at his "Grass Roots Convention of Southern Democrats" was heard, thanks to the radio, all over the land.

The story of that Convention—the most disgraceful and shameless performance the South has seen in years—is long, confused and highly significant. It begins, interestingly enough, with the late Huey P. Long. Huey, dead and buried though he is, is going to remain a force in Southern politics (and perhaps in national politics as well) for many years to come. John Brown's soul is absolutely static compared to his.

Our Gene admired the man from Louisiana tremendously. Not being a really smart politician himself but a born imitator, he has copied page after page from Huey's exercise book. Like all imitators he is without color. He has no genius and no humor. He only has a lust for power—which he wouldn't know what to do with except to crack down. Our Gene would be a right smart hand at cracking down. And he's itching for the chance.

To understand the influence of Huey Long upon the career of the Georgia cracker-downer, a short biographical note is necessary. Our Gene's first public office was that of State Commissioner of Agriculture. A lawyer, he had never practised enough, as they say in the wool-hat districts, "either to help or to hurt." Married to a widow who had inherited extensive farm lands, he became a farmer. Bitten by the political bug (that tsetse fly which attacks all Southern lawyers in the rural districts), he proposed himself for a judgeship. His friends pointed out that he did not have enough legal experience to back up his candidacy. Why not run for Commissioner of Agriculture instead? Wasn't he a farmer and couldn't a cigar-store Indian defeat the present incumbent? It sounded like good advice and Our Gene took it. It was one of those elections in which votes are cast, not for a candidate but against the other candidate, and Our Gene was elected.

It was during his term as Commissioner that he first came into contact with the late Dictator of Louisiana. That was when Huey was proposing a farm holiday in the cotton-growing states and Our Gene supported him. The plan fell through but [illegible] there began [illegible]

Huey's death—although Gene, having presidential hankerings himself, was beginning to be suspicious of his master toward the end.

Gene's first taste of notoriety came when, as Commissioner of Agriculture, he started gambling in the Chicago hog market with state funds. With pardonable parochial pride, he felt that south Georgia peanut-fed hogs were just as good as Mid-western hogs fed on corn. He bought up a few carloads of Georgia hogs and sent them off to Chicago. He guaranteed them to kill "hard"—just like the corn-fed hogs from the Middle West. They didn't. They killed "soft" just like peanut-fed hogs from south Georgia. The upshot of this adventure was that the state was out some $20,000.

This was mighty peculiar doings and Our Gene's enemies (of which he has his share) began to steam up the legislature and demand his impeachment. A Senate investigation was ordered, the first step in the impeachment proceedings, and then Our Gene remembered Huey Long. He decided to fix up a round-robin for himself—and did. By various maneuverings, he persuaded enough members of the "farm bloc" of the Georgia legislature to sign a petition demanding that all impeachment proceedings be dropped. They were. Our Gene's answer to the charge that he stole $20,000 is highly reminiscent of Huey Long. "Sure I stole it," he told an assembly of farmers. "But I stole it for you."

All this, of course, put him on the front pages of the newspapers throughout the state. It gave him enough publicity to get himself elected Governor. There was something nice and homely about the hog episode and the farmers and tenant farmers in the country districts made him their man. He was elected on a platform remarkable in that it had but one plank—a $3 automobile license. This was nice and homely too, and Our Gene became Governor. He has been the boss of Georgia ever since—not a real sure-enough 100-percent boss like Huey, but boss enough to keep himself and his gang in power.

That Huey and Gene had a "deal" on when Huey was assassinated, is well known. Gene admits it himself, although, as is understandable, he will not go into details. It so happened that, not very long ago, I found myself on the same train with him. He had been in Brewton, Alabama, making an Armistice Day speech and was returning to Atlanta. In the smoking-room we had a long, not unfriendly talk. How about that deal between him and Huey, I asked. What was it all about? I was willing to put my pair of nines on the table if he would show his full house. Our Gene clamped on his cigar and thought it over. It didn't [illegible]

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"The only deal we had," he said finally, "was to stop Roosevelt. I didn't agree with Huey's ideas, although I liked him personally. His program called for a lot of taxation. My program calls for a reduction of taxes. I believe in a balanced budget."

"How were you going to stop Roosevelt?" I asked.

"We didn't have any plan worked out."

In New Orleans, where I had been, I had heard rumors. One of these was that Gene was going to run as Vice President on Huey's presidential Share-the-Wealth ticket. This, I admit, would have been a pretty kettle of fish, but not any more extraordinary than various other gumbos Huey had cooked up. Another rumor was that, in return for Our Gene's support, Huey was going to make him a Cabinet member—Secretary of Agriculture, of all things. I repeated these rumors but Our Gene comes from a poker-playing section and was not going to be bluffed. He issued a blank denial and, since it was then after midnight, he said he had to go to bed. He lingered, however, long enough to tell me about his Grass Roots convention. It was going to be one of the biggest revolts the South had ever seen. There would be at least 10,000 people there. A question suggested itself to me but I did not ask it: Where was the money coming from?

Since then, however, I have asked the question many times. Talmadge's anti-Roosevelt stand has caused a break among Georgia Democrats and there are various men, formerly associated with Talmadge, who are quite willing to talk. Our Gene, they say, is getting his financial backing from (1) Southern industrial, utility and banking interests and (2) the Liberty League. This latter high-minded organization (so says a man who was one of Talmadge's closest political associates and who broke with him only a short time ago) kicked in $5,000 to help pay for the Macon convention. Such statements, of course, come under the general classification of rumors and back-biting, but they are supported by known facts.

It is a known fact, for example, that the industrial, utility and banking interests in George "like" Talmadge. Why shouldn't they? Didn't he invent concentration camps for strikers? Didn't he attack the A.A.A. and its processing taxes? Didn't he rant against the T.V.A.? Didn't he denounce "government interference with private banking"? Didn't he call out the state troopers and have them act as strikebreakers—so much so that Kingfink Pearl Bergoff got sore? No wonder they "like" Talmadge. If they didn't, whom should they like?

It is also a known fact that John Henry Kirby, the "wealthy Texas lumberman" who helped Talmadge organize the Macon convention, is an old, staunch pal of the *Republican* National Committeeman of Texas. Kirby not only has been openly flirting with the Liberty League but (according to the findings of the Caraway Senate investigation) has been going around getting funds to build up then, that Talmadge—either directly or through Kirby—has been getting financial assistance from the Liberty League: especially when it is remembered that the Macon convention was opened just after the Unhappy Warrior of Fulton Street wailed his unhappiness over the air? I don't think it is.

Am I suggesting that Talmadge has been made part of a plot to gang up on Roosevelt? I am. The next presidential election is going to be determined, it now seems apparent, not by the number of votes the Republicans get but by the number of votes that will be drawn away from Roosevelt. I fully believe that if Huey Long were alive the next President would be a Republican—any Republican except Herbert Hoover. I further believe that, in order to bring this about, Huey could have had all the assistance he wanted from the Liberty League. (Long, as Mr. Forrest Davis points out in his book "The Kingfish," was in close contact with Wall Street only a few days before he was killed.) It seems only obvious, then, that not having Huey any longer, our constitutional reactionaries are using Talmadge as the spearhead of an anti-Roosevelt drive in the South. Even if he does nothing else, Talmadge can make enough noise to create the impression of a Southern Democratic revolt, and this, in a presidential year, has a certain amount of political value.

Talmadge's Macon convention is one of those things that every decent man and woman in the South (and there are millions of them) would like to forget. Politically, it was a miserable and abject flop. Only 2,500 visitors showed up and the auditorium was only half-filled. It would indicate, to any man who wasn't completely taken in by his own publicity and back-slappers, that beating Roosevelt in Georgia is going to be harder than falling off a log. But as an exhibition of rabble-rousing, and the beating of tom-toms of race prejudice, it was an unqualified success. Talmadge is the first man in our history to declare for the presidency on a platform of hate—hatred of radicals, hatred of reform and, lowest and most despicable of all, hatred of the Negro.

Talmadge took care of radicals and reform himself. "You have to help in this fight," he scrooched, "to see that no Communist or Socialist steals the Democratic nomination. . . . Let's don't allow a bunch of Reds to have four more years in office. . . . If the New Dealers pick their own Supreme Court, the wheels of our democracy will catch fire and burn down our freedom. . . . Shall we barter away Americanism for Communism?" All in all, neither Hitler nor Hearst could have done any better.

As for the Negro, that subject was left for another speaker: Thomas L. Dixon, the author of "The Clansman" and similar classics. If Mr. Dixon had been trying to start a lynching-bee he couldn't have been more impassioned or eloquent. In com-

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state attorneys at Scottsboro read like spiritual essays of brotherly love. Its general tone is indicated by his remarks on the Wagner-Costigan anti-lynching bill, the inspiration of which, he seemed to think, came from Mrs. Roosevelt. "I denounce this bill as an infamous OUTRAGE, as the most BRAZEN attempt to outrage states' rights by placing FEDERAL BAYONETS at our backs." Mr. Dixon's idea, in case you miss the point, is that the more lynchings we have the better. (Cf. "The Clansman.") The copies of the mysterious "Georgia Woman's World" which were scattered around the auditorium must have warmed the cockles of Mr. Dixon's proud and unreconstructed heart. The first thing you saw when you opened the magazine was a picture of Mrs. Roosevelt being escorted to her car by a Negro faculty member of Howard University. Then you saw a picture of Arthur Mitchell, Negro Congressman, with the caption: "THE PET AND PROTEGE OF JAMES A. FARLEY." There was an editorial on the first page, comparing Franklin D. Roosevelt and Andrew Jackson. Excerpts: "Andrew Jackson didn't have a Negro confidential clerk in the White House. . . . Andrew Jackson didn't try to ram an anti-lynching bill down the throats of the Southern people through a Democratic Congress. . . . When Andrew Jackson got to be President he didn't put in Socialists, Communists and Negroes to tell him how to run these good old United States."

So there you are. That's Our Gene's program. Everything else is beside the point. The only thing that remains is a question: "How far is he going to get with it?" One thing is certain—he is not going to get to be President. Another thing is certain—if he is unwise enough to run against Roosevelt in the Georgia primaries (and he is just that unwise) he is going to get thoroughly and completely whupped. He is only a cat's-paw, but he doesn't know it. He has a naïve idea that if he can rake any chestnuts out of the fire, they will be his. They won't, of course, but Our Gene (and this is not rumor, hearsay or back-biting) has been promised enough salve to soothe his burns. If a Republican is elected President—if—don't be surprised if Talmadge is given a high official post: possibly Secretary of Agriculture. How I found this out is nobody's business but my own; but—upon my word of honor, gentlemen—there's been a deal. (Georgia papers please copy.)

HAMILTON BASSO.

Does Socialism Work?

III: *Judging the Soviet Union*

IS RUSSIA a success? It is one of those frequent but bewilderingly simple questions that make answers meaningless. Here is an area covering a large part of two continents, inhabited by many nationalities, comprising 170,000,000 people. It is not an intellectual problem or a laboratory experiment, but a vast and complex aggregate of life.

What is your criterion of success? The existence of Utopia? The Soviet Union is not that, and Communists do not assert that it is. Comparison with England or America? It appears to be ahead of us in some ways and is clearly behind us in others. We shall know better about that in the future. Ability to produce and distribute goods without the intervention of private business enterprise? Anyone who has seen the tremendous plants, the countless miles of brown, reaped grain fields, must bear witness that industry can go on without the profit motive. Curves of production mount steadily.

What is responsible for the relative successes or relative deficiencies? Socialism itself? Alterable policies within the system? The national character? The possession of rich natural resources? The absence of a widespread heritage of mechanical skill? The historical bases of what now exists, including centuries of medieval, non-industrial feudalism, with its ignorant, superstitious and conservative

try, which was broken less than thirty years ago? A disastrous war, a revolution and a civil war, followed by an imposed isolation? To pick out the particular cause for the particular result is an exercise in guesswork.

How shall we ever be able to make a truly scientific comparison between socialism and capitalism? One of the leading pro-capitalist economists of our day, Hayek of Austria, has stated his basis of comparison. Of course, he says in effect, we do not mean that socialism cannot produce goods. Nor do we mean that what is now called capitalism can work well; there is so much intervention with "natural" economic processes that it is obviously doomed. What we mean is that, under like conditions of natural resources and skill, a capitalism operated as economic theory says it ought to be operated would be more efficient than socialism. I defy anyone to make such a comparison in terms that would hold scientific water. Like conditions don't exist. Theoretically pure capitalism does not exist, never has existed and never will exist. What Hayek does is not to compare actually going systems; he never looks back at reality. He imagines how an ideal capitalism would operate if we had it, and then tries to prove that socialism could not do

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Does Economic Planning Work?—Hayek's argument is too complex to be summarized in its entirety, but its essence will do as a cue to a brief and superficial inquiry into Soviet planning. This argument is based on price-and-value theory. People's wants are arranged in a sort of hierarchy. They will pay a lot for the things they want most, if they have to. And so on down the scale, until you come to things that they would rather go without than pay for. Some things cost more to produce than others. If, for anything people want, the cost is even a little less than the price they are willing to pay, it will probably be offered for sale. But more attention will be devoted to making and selling those things that people want so much that the price is further above the cost. This process reaches back through retail trade, to wholesale trade, to manufacture and mining, to the investment of capital. The relative prices that it determines, determine in their turn relative costs and profits, having due reference to the existing supply of raw materials and skill. Relative profits determine relative production. Thus production is adjusted to people's wants. Scarce things in demand are rationed by means of high prices; abundant things are widely distributed; there is a motive to make scarce things more abundant. Prices and costs are the signposts that tell individuals what to do in order to make this adjustment. It is a great, coördinated system, that works and changes without anybody consciously planning (except for himself).

But, says Hayek, the minute you start to plan, you make arbitrary decisions about prices and wages and production and capital investment that knock down all these value signposts. Nobody knows what relative values are any more; costs become unreal; you devote capital and labor to processes that, if you only knew, are socially less efficient, and you fail to satisfy popular demands as well as you might. In short, you land in a mess.

The absence of a capitalistic demand schedule in the Soviet Union is apparent in the shortage of many things that we take for granted as common necessities. If it existed, the purchasing power of tourists would call forth better accommodations and service. There would be better housing and more clothing—for those who could pay. There would be more soap and toilet paper. There would probably be, at this stage of the process, fewer electric plants, tractor factories, airplanes, books and theatres, less social insurance, less leisure, less education and less provision for children.

What is equally apparent is that Soviet planning has worked out a demand schedule of its own, based on the assumption that the real wants of a people cannot be expressed entirely or accurately in the purchases of individuals in a retail market. This demand schedule takes the future into account. One of the old defenses of poverty and inequality of income under capitalism is that it is a device for denying present satisfaction of wants for the sake of future satisfaction. Soviet planning has been a much more efficient device for this purpose; a frequent criticism is that it has gone too far in enforced saving and construction of productive equipment.

The Soviet demand schedule also takes into account the fact that many wants of a cultural or social nature are even more fundamental than the desire for material things that can be satisfied commercially. It is hard for the retail purchaser under capitalism to go out and buy such things as absence of unemployment, leisure, social insurance, crèches, kindergartens, ballets, national defense against foreign attack. Yet in the long run these things may mean more to him than the gadgets he can buy.

It is frequently argued that the rapid increase of production in the Soviet Union, accompanied by the absence of unemployment, is due simply to the fact that it is in a pioneer stage of industrialism, and is still building its equipment. But I know of no other pioneer industrial society that has offered at the same time so much of art, of leisure and security. Without socialist planning and control, the Soviet Union probably would not have had so rapid and balanced an industrial development, and would not have provided cultural values for so many people while the development was taking place.

Values, Costs and Prices.—Given a social demand schedule of this kind, you have signposts to substitute for the capitalistic ones. You decide on your leading objectives; you elaborate them into a production plan; this shows you what must be provided, and you go ahead to provide it. The real cost is determined by the efficiency of labor. The money cost is figured on the basis of what each plant will have to pay for labor, wage rates being fixed in advance for a given period. Of course the prices of materials enter specific money costs as well, but these prices are also fixed with some relation to the expected cost of labor in processing the materials. Step by step as you go backward through the industrial system, material costs depend on labor costs, until you reach the mines or farms where material in its raw state costs nothing but labor.

What about capital costs? Of course, machinery and plants have to be bought and paid for. They are paid for, in the Soviet system as they partially are in ours, out of loans (based on bank credit), out of undistributed industrial profits and out of the state's capital fund, which is built up from the state's share of profits, from taxes and from the savings of individuals accumulated through bond issues and the like. But essentially, capital costs, like all others, get back to labor costs. The manufacture of machinery and the building of plant depend on labor and materials, and materials depend on labor.

Costs are carefully figured; they are used as signposts of efficiency, though not, as under capitalism, as partial directives of production. If the cost in any instance turns out to be too high to fit the plan you arbitrarily reduce the price be-

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plan. Many basic industries in the Soviet Union have been in this situation during their early stages. In these cases the state pays the deficit. It may do so out of expansion of credit, or out of the profits of other industries, whose prices are kept higher than costs, in accordance with the social plan. This means, of course, higher prices and fewer goods on the average than if all plants were producing at lower costs. *It does not necessarily mean, however, a lower average level of living than if the unprofitable plants were allowed either to charge higher prices or to go out of production.* That is an important point to remember. For you are adjusting your productive energies to a social demand schedule, and you are using all your labor, instead of letting some of it remain idle.

The effort, then, is to increase the efficiency of labor in all lines, and especially in the unprofitable ones. (This explains the furore about Stakhanov and his followers, who are applying familiar principles of division of labor to stimulate production.) Trust after trust, plant after plant, proudly announced last fall that henceforth it would dispense with state subsidy. This means more goods at lower prices, without reduced wages—or even with increased wages.

In detail, planning is a complex process, requiring a lot of forethought and calculation and frequent flexible adjustments. Mistakes in planning and failures in execution occur. Uneven performance may lead to unbalances and distortions—as when pig-iron output got ahead of steel, and surplus iron had to be sold to Japan. Such distortions would not occur in Hayek's ideal and impossible capitalism, but they are obviously less serious than the distortions that arise in actual capitalism. For they are known and dealt with by an administration that controls all prices and all production. Fundamentally, the economic problem becomes a technical one, and technical problems yield in the end to administration. The task is to decide what is wanted, and then proceed to make it as efficiently and abundantly as possible. The principle is as simple as that.

Planning Retail Trade.—For the economic sector in which goods are sold at retail, the Soviet state is now approximating the capitalistic technique of the demand schedule. Of course no private traders are allowed. But the rationing system is rapidly being abolished. There is almost none of it left. People take their money and buy goods in open shops, at more or less standardized prices, just as they do here. This means that prices of those things, the demand for which exceeds the supply, must be raised in order to keep a stock on hand. Such an enforced increase of price is an immediate signal to the state trading organization, and through it to the consumers'-goods trusts, that the supply of this commodity should be increased, so that its price may be lowered again.

I had a long talk with a high official in the Gos- markets or commodity exchanges. They can plan about [illegible]

changes of taste are in this country thought to make the problem difficult if not insoluble. He was not impressed with the difficulty. In the first place, the retail market for everything is so nearly inexhaustible that the main task for a long time to come will be to increase production and reduce prices all along the line, without bothering too much about which things are demanded more than others. In a rough way everybody knows what the main wants are. In the second place, the trading and manufacturing organizations have methods of judging tastes in advance. For one thing, they lead taste by their own designs and publicity (just as many producers do in this country). For another, where a variety of fashions competes for public favor, they have shows or they sample public choice in other ways, before going in for heavy production. Finally, any loss due to miscalculation of taste in one department of a consumers'-goods industry will instantly be offset by gain in another part, since there is no individual ownership of factories and stores and no competitive overdevelopment. A certain amount of waste can be absorbed as the legitimate cost of variety. The market for non-durable consumers' goods as a whole is, as every economist knows, remarkably stable.

Incomes and Classes.—Everybody who visits the Soviet Union is immediately struck by the fact that there are no really rich people, but his second forceful impression is likely to be that some Soviet citizens are much better off than others. Is not this just like capitalism? How can you have unequal distribution of income under socialism? Is not a new system of classes developing, with the bureaucracy and the army officers at the top?

It is not a tenet of Communists that everybody is just like everybody else in abilities, tastes and deserts. The communism they eventually hope to establish will give people material equality, to be sure, but only because its productiveness will be so great that everybody can have all the material things he wants (though not necessarily all the same things). Before that stage can be reached, however, society must go through a socialist organization, which is what now exists in Russia. Under socialism there is less material inequality than under capitalism, since the essential wants of the poorest are taken care of before anybody's income gets too high. Nevertheless it is necessary to stimulate enterprise, ability and production by differential rewards.

Well then, why do not the more successful get all the power and rob the less successful, just as in capitalism? The answer is that their money does not give them any power over the system, since they cannot own factories, mines, farms, apartment houses, newspapers, radio stations, stores or railroads—any of the means of production. They cannot employ labor in business enterprises. There are no shares, debentures, private bond issues, stock

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dren. If they are caught bribing anybody, they are likely to be shot.

What, then, can they do with their money? They can buy all sorts of things for their own use. They can increase their own "cultural standards." They can own a house or an apartment—if they can find one to buy—but they can keep it only so long as they use it, and they cannot own the land on which it stands. They can buy government bonds or put their money in a savings bank. There was much pride in the growth of savings accounts this year. They can travel. Social pressure will not allow them, however, to live on their savings without working, so long as they are physically and mentally fit.

But if the same people who receive the large incomes should be those who in fact run the socialized system, might they not exploit the masses just the same by decreeing higher rewards for themselves? Might they not appoint their henchmen, their relatives and their children to the better posts, thus building up a new privileged class? Abstractly, they might, but practically it looks unlikely, at least until there is real abundance for all. Such a howl of "constructive self-criticism" would go up that one of those sudden changes of policy that we have learned to expect in the Soviet Union would almost surely occur. No Supreme Court would protect their constitutional Rights to their Property. Soviet citizens now have the secret ballot. The tradition established by the Bolsheviks that high office carries correspondingly heavy obligations to the workers runs deep. The accepted social standards of a society based on collectivism are so different from those of a society based on the right of everybody to get as much as he can for himself that we can hardly appreciate the difference.

Nationalism and the Army.—If socialism is not being undermined from within, how about its retreat to nationalism? Economic policy has made the Soviet Union nearly self-contained. With its huge and efficient army, it has become a first class military power. It practises universal military service—taking, because of the size of its population, only the most fit. The army is immensely popular. Boys regard it as a calamity to be rejected. We saw the new recruits marching off, singing as Russian soldiers always do. Great banners celebrating the event were hung across the buildings. The army is not only an army, but an educational institution and an agency of construction.

Strange as it may seem to us, in the Soviet Union the army as a fighting instrument is thought a defensive weapon solely. Everybody, from the highest to the lowest, fears war and wants to avoid it. That is because, on account of the economic system, nobody would profit from war, while it is clear to all how fighting would interrupt the effort to produce a better life. The slogan on one of the banners—"We do not covet an inch of others'

—is not just a publicity device, but represents the genuine national feeling.

Patriotism, too, has a different content. The Soviet citizens are prepared to defend savagely, not the fatherland, not the nation (there are about 200 nationalities in the Union, and the Russians proper make up not much more than half the population), but the workers' state. If, tomorrow, the German workers should seize power, Soviet citizens would probably be just as enthusiastic about defending German territory against aggression. Though they fear above all things that Hitler and Japan will attack them, there is no propaganda of hate against Germans or Japanese as such. School children, asked in a questionnaire what they thought of Germans, answered in large proportion that the workers were much like workers anywhere, but were repressed by their government.

On the other hand, the nation is not ready to precipitate the calamity of war by fighting, in Napoleonic fashion, for the liberation of other peoples. The accepted doctrine is that each proletariat must win its own freedom at the proper time and by its own strength. Otherwise the victory would be artificial and impermanent.

The Comintern and International Revolution.—Frightened conservatives think the Communist International is an agency of the Soviet government in stirring up revolution throughout the world. Trotskyites believe it is an agency of Soviet nationalism in dampening the revolutionary ardor of foreign workers, so that the relations of the Soviet government with its capitalist allies may not be disturbed. The taming of Communist parties throughout the world during the past year, their policy of coöperating with anybody who is anti-fascist to support democratic governments and the League of Nations, is obvious. I cannot speak with authoritative information about these matters. I do know, however, that there is apparent unanimity of opinion in Russia on the following propositions: (1) World revolution is sure to come some time and will be heartily welcomed; (2) The Soviet Union's proper contribution to world revolution is not agitation outside its borders, but an unequivocal demonstration of the success of socialism within them. These views are not inconsistent, and apparently are shared by the various national Communist parties that make up the Comintern. These parties are not "under orders from Moscow," but the headquarters of their organization is there, and in it the Soviet Communist Party is naturally influential.

Looking Backward—and Forward.—When the traveler leaves the Soviet Union, he luxuriates at first in the familiar comforts of capitalism. He puts on his bourgeois habits like an old shoe. He is likely to go on a spree of spending. But after a week or so he begins to miss something. He misses the hope, the enthusiasm, the intellectual vigor, the

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that something new and better is going to happen next week. And usually it does. The feeling is a little like the excitement that accompanied the first weeks of the New Deal. But the Soviet New Deal has been going on longer, is providing more and more tangible results, and retains its vitality. The visitor wants to go back and see what has happened since he left. He wants to visit something he missed, to talk longer with somebody. In the country into which he has come, there is a feeling that everything is at sixes and sevens, that there is a dead end in sight. Further advanced though it may be in equipment and technical skill, there seem to be insuperable obstacles to doing the relatively small things that would have to be done to make it a good place for everyone.

Will this new civilization also come to a dead end? When its great construction program is finished, will it not also meet the difficulties of capitalism? There are at least three good answers to that. (1) When will the construction program be finished? Perhaps it will take fifty years to catch up with us. (2) Even then, why should activity cease? There is still a lot of useful construction for us to do, if only we had the sense to do it. Not until every legitimate want of every person is satisfied is there any abated need for productive effort. No nation in the world has reached such a state of satiation. And if it were reached, there would be no economic problem. (3) Some of the same problems capitalism is boggling over have to be faced on the way, as this article demonstrates. The difference is that socialism seems to have a technique for solving them.

If only war could be prevented——. But I have confidence that even war could not long cripple this young giant. GEORGE SOULE.

This is the concluding article of the series on the Soviet Union.—THE EDITORS.

Professional Workers Unionize

WHEN SEVERAL hundred organized lawyers demonstrate before New York's City Hall for W.P.A. jobs; school teachers strike for back salary and win; technicians and research workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor picket "liberal" Consumers' Research, Inc.; reporters and editorial writers force a union contract with several publishers through militant action; a cross section of medical professional workers in a well known hospital get union recognition from the hospital board that had fought their strike with "lockout" and "scabs"; and when clergymen organize a union, apply for an A.F. of L. charter and go on the picket line—when all these things happen, it appears that professional workers are learning the facts of economic life just as have workers in factories, mines, on farms and in offices.

Today finds approximately 250,000 professional workers in trade unions and organizations with acknowledged protective purposes. Roughly four times as many, upwards of one million, belong to national professional associations, such as the American Medical Association, the National Education Association, the American Nurses' Association, the American Association of University Professors, various engineering associations and others. Although more professional workers belong to these societies than to trade unions, the membership of the professional associations that have failed to act in the economic interests of their members has remained static or actually fallen off during the past few years. Organizations having protective aims have increased in number, while those already in existence are attracting a growing membership.

Rapid and spontaneous growth of the union form of organization among professional workers may tend to obscure its history, which extends back over many years. Professional workers in the entertainment field, who in general have always been employed by others, first realized the necessity for collective action. As early as 1879, organized musicians of New York City struck on the first American production of "Pinafore." They lost the strike when Sullivan threatened to import English musicians. Incidents such as this led to the formation of the American Federation of Musicians in 1896, not only the oldest international union of professional workers but today one of the largest unions in the American Federation of Labor. Scenic artists in New York City organized about 1880 and later affiliated with an international union of manual workers—painters, decorators and paperhangers. Vaudeville actors formed unions about the same time. Actors of the legitimate theatre did not follow their example until 1912, when the Actors' Equity Association was organized. An A.F. of L. charter was obtained in 1919, the time of the great actors' strike, the success of which was due in large measure to the fact that all workers in the theatre industry, from the humblest baggage handlers to the leading stars, were members of the A.F. of L.

Local organizations of state, county and municipal government employees in professional service were formed before the turn of the century. In 1897 Chicago teachers organized a union that affiliated with the Federation of Labor in 1902 on Jane Addams' advice. When the American Federation of Teachers was formed in 1916, twenty local teachers' unions had already joined the organized labor movement. The National Ed[illegible]

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Federal Employees, the first vertical union of federal employees including professional workers, affiliated with the A.F. of L. in 1917. When it withdrew, in 1931, a new union, the American Federation of Government Employees, was formed by those members who did not wish to leave the recognized labor movement. In 1918 the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions, most of whose members are employed by government agencies, received a charter.

Before 1920, six national or international unions, as well as many local organizations, offered membership to workers in the majority of salaried professional occupations. During the following decade trade unions suffered a decline in membership. Professional workers were misled by a temporary prosperity into the belief that they were secure in their jobs, called "positions," and looked forward to indefinite promotion ending in their becoming high executives. While trade unions were losing membership, professional associations grew. The American Association of University Professors increased threefold; the National Education Association grew correspondingly. Members of the new profession, social work, organized the American Association of Social Workers in 1921, which grew rapidly in spite of requiring higher educational qualifications for membership than social agencies require from the majority of their employees.

Shortly after the beginning of the economic crisis many professional workers were forced to recognize the fact that they face the same conditions as other workers. Salary cuts, unemployment and lack of promotion brought home to them the insecurity of their status. Dispossessed professional workers, formerly self-employed practitioners, added their numbers to an ever growing mass of workers seeking employment, while schools and colleges continued sending graduates in search of jobs for which there were already too many applicants.

Many professional workers have perceived that they are at the crossroads. Either they must accept limitation of their numbers, with consequent loss of needed services to the people, or they must bring organized pressure for extension of essential services which they are prepared to give. They are learning that not only is the economic welfare of the individual and hence of the group at stake, but the social basis of the professions itself is challenged. Today some kind of trade union is available to every worker in the dozen or so of the largest professional fields.

The American Federation of Teachers, with 200 locals, 16 of which are in colleges or universities, has grown from a membership of 5,000 in 1931 to 25,000 today. The union is committed to a no-strike policy, depending upon the support of organized labor to gain its ends. Recent strikes for back pay by teachers in country districts of Pennsylvania and Alabama were conducted by hitherto conservative [illegible] of Chicago [illegible] unpaid for many months, paraded in the streets but did not go on strike. Private school teachers have formed their own unions and are seeking affiliation with the American Federation of Teachers. Workers in government service are joining the American Federation of Government Employees in increasing numbers. The American Federation of Musicians has strengthened its position through action in behalf of unemployed musicians and those on W.P.A. projects.

National unions have been formed among hitherto unorganized professions. Through the American Newspaper Guild, with 5,000 members in 68 chapters, reporters and editorial writers have won the right to collective bargaining from publishers of several newspapers by means of strikes and picketing. The most recently organized union among writers, the Book and Magazine Guild of America, formed last June, has succeeded in establishing units in fifty publishing houses in New York City. Social workers, who first organized a trade union in 1931 to fight wage cuts in private agencies in New York City, have come to realize that only through organized pressure can they maintain their own jobs and an adequate relief program for the unemployed. Fifty "rank and file" groups throughout the country embrace 15,000 members, the majority of whom are employees of public relief agencies. Several of these groups have joined the American Federation of Government Employees, which recently obtained jurisdiction over workers in state and local government service. Technical workers formed the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians in 1933, which has now become a national organization with 7,000 members in 15 chapters. The Ministers' Union of America, national in scope, was organized in 1931 and has applied for an A.F. of L. charter.

Trade unionism has spread recently to workers in medical and allied professions. The Interne Council of Greater New York has organized two-thirds of the 1,500 internes of the city and has succeeded in gaining for internes in city-operated hospitals a cash salary of $15 per month. The Association of Hospital and Medical Professionals, a new A.F. of L. union which consolidated two older independent unions, has jurisdiction over nurses, laboratory technicians and staff physicians in hospitals. The Pharmacists' Union of Greater New York, with a membership of over 1,000 has carried on a number of strikes and is now seeking affiliation with the A.F. of L.

Some unemployed professional workers have found employment through W.P.A. and P.W.A., where they have organized in self-protection. The City Projects Council of New York City, a rapidly growing independent union with over 6,000 members today, is limited to white-collar and professional workers on W.P.A. projects. The demand for extension of the W.P.A. program to provide needed professional services to the people has been raised not without success, by such newly organized

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professional associations as the Lawyers' Security League and the Psychologists' League.

Examination of the occupational groups in which unions have been formed shows clearly enough that organization has proceeded with greatest rapidity in those fields where professional workers are hired for a salary. The past decades have witnessed a marked trend toward a constantly increasing proportion of salaried workers. This has been due to three principal factors: (1) concentration of industry, which has resulted in the employment of full-time workers in professional service in large corporations; (2) a tendency toward monopoly control of various professional fields by a few large offices and agencies, which has reduced the number self-employed to a small group of employers and increased the number of salaried workers under them. This tendency is most evident in the case of lawyers, consulting engineers and chemists and certified public accountants; (3) the numbers employed in certain occupational groups, which consist almost entirely of salaried workers, such as teachers and social workers, have increased more rapidly than have the numbers in the predominantly self-employed professions.

Salaried workers constitute the majority of all workers in the professions today. According to a government study, "National Income, 1929-32," only one and a third million professional workers out of 3,000,000 in 1929 were engaged in independent professional practice. Like all others who work for hire, professional workers are resorting to collective action for bargaining power to protect their own welfare and that of society at large.

ALBION A. HARTWELL and
CAROLINE WHITNEY.

First Day of a General Strike

IT ISN'T a masquerade, despite the fact that two men in a brown Packard with a siren and no license came to town asserting they were newspapermen from Springfield and later showed up in uniform, impersonating officers.

No, it's a serious holiday. You can't even buy a drink stronger than coffee: the door to every bar in town is shut and locked. You can't even go to a movie: the theatres are closed. So are beauty shops and beauty salons, so also are restaurants and cafés. Taxicab drivers toast their shins by the fire while people who would like to be their patrons slither along on icy pavements in zero weather. Truck drivers are bringing in no produce: they aren't working either. Neither are the bakers. A hundred leather workers reported for work and stood by their benches—idle. In fact even the grocery stores, gasoline stations, flower shops, everything—everything in Pekin that supplies commodities or services—is closed. The people who do the work aren't working—and they've very firmly asked every merchant to help them tie up the town.

In short, the unions are out. Distillery Workers' Union No. 19,538 is on strike and thirty of thirty-one A.F. of L. locals in Pekin are out in sympathy and "reporting for duty." That means three thousand men—waiting. Meanwhile, members of the remaining local not out keep their eyes on the stop levers of their machines—waiting. Altogether, 3,500 men and their families, which means, conservatively counting three to each union member's family, a total of over ten thousand people, are waiting.

Miners remain at work because of a coal shortage in the bitter weather, to supply urgently needed fuel to private families—but not one lump to industries; and milk drivers are still on the job. They too are waiting. If the militia, summoned to stand in readiness by company and city officials, comes in—more wheels will stop, more thousands swell the ranks of those who now are merely waiting.

Behind the visible drama lies two years of workers' efforts to bargain collectively with the American Distilling Company. They were resentful of being called to the gate of the company, often at night, sometimes in the rain or bitter cold, waiting for admittance, seeing a few selected from each group—as many as were needed to fill orders on hand—then those remaining being told, No work this time. Early in 1934 the sterner workers molded their grievances into an organized workers' block, a local A.F. of L. union. They demanded quarter pay when called without being given work, time and a half for overtime (of which they had worked many hours at low rates, often without being permitted time for needed meals), cessation of speed-up so terrific that stories were rife of girls fainting at work-benches and men protesting until they were fired.

John Barnard, superintendent of the plant, refused to bargain with them. He refused to see the federal labor authorities. In May, 1934, with the temperature unseasonably soaring to 104 in the shade, union pickets turned back sheriff's deputies armed with axe handles and gas bombs in one of the most militant strikes that ever escaped national notice. They won a majority of their demands.

At once, the American Distilling Company began formation of a company union. Two months later, charging discrimination against its members, failing once more to effect arbitration with John Barnard or company officers, the A.F. of L. union again walked out. A compromise settlement, a half-victory for the union, resulted.

Since then—here

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pany fostering its own union, the regular union seeking legal rights. A seasonal lay-off in July, 1935, brought dismissal to a group of union workers, to whom no explanation was made. They were replaced by new employees, who either remained unaffiliated or joined the company union. In January of this year, another lay-off brought similar treatment to a second group of regular union members. Meanwhile, several active union workers were discharged or placed on call for alleged violation of company rules, incompetence or drunkenness.

At a protracted hearing before a federal trial examiner in November-December, 1935, the company made no attempt to support its charges against dismissed employees, whose case federal labor attorneys were defending. Rather, it based its claim to immunity under regulatory sections of the Wagner labor law on the ground that this law was unconstitutional and would be so declared by the Supreme Court. Seventeen hundred pages of testimony were recorded, predominantly in favor of the workers, so spectators, participants and attorneys claim. As yet, no decision has been handed down by the Labor Relations Board. Why, the workers ask?

While waiting for the decision that did not come, workers have been forced either to eke out a miserable existence on part pay earned on infrequent call, or to rely on relief-roll aid. Two years is a long time to wait. When you think you are in the right, when your fellow members think you are right, when in disregard of the agreement between your union and the company you work for, your job is taken from you and given to someone from a small town nearby, or perhaps to a farm boy or girl who likes a little extra spending money and who knows nothing of the social and economic problems of a city industrial worker, when you wait and wait and not even your government tells you whether you're right and all the time you know you're right—and hungry—you strike.

The picket line formed at 6:30, January 19. At 8:30 Chief of Police Harry Donahue and his officers, on order of Mayor Schurman and by request of the American Distilling Company, dispersed the pickets with tear gas and blackjacks. The line reformed January 22 in twenty-below-zero cold, with a blizzard blowing. Inside, the plant was being partially and very ineffectively operated under the watchful eyes of twenty or more company guards armed to the teeth.

Wednesday, January 29, "Tear Gas Harry Donahue and his fog-boys" as they are now known, again dispelled the pickets, assisted by Sheriff Ralph Goar and his deputies. This time vomit gas was also used. Company guards, it is charged, ran out with torches and ignited the flimsy tent, shelter for pickets against the bitter cold. The tent burned. Thereafter, for a time, pickets patrolled in sets of four under vigilance of officers, including state police.

The company announced that it would reopen [illegible] Pekin [illegible]

That decision opened a chapter in American labor history. City buses, filled with company-union members and sympathizers, were met by pickets. In a successful effort to stop the company scabs a woman became excited, threw a brick, hit a bus. Tear Gas Donahue and his fog-boys went into action. Tear-gas grenades and projectiles were hurled at men and women pickets. Company guards flanked with gas guns.

Girl pickets, pursued by police, ran for refuge to the adjacent grounds of the Corn Products Company. A striking example of union solidarity was seen when workers in the factory of this company came to their rescue. They first let the girls enter the Corn Products plant for shelter and then exacted a promise that they would be allowed to leave in safety and go to union headquarters some distance away. Finally, they forced the astonished plant superintendent to order the police off the property of the Corn Products Company. No local newspaper carried a word of this news.

That night a mass meeting of all unions was held. Members of the farm union, who already had been donating food and moral support to pickets, now joined in the general labor holiday the unions declared. City and county officials called for the National Guard. Dr. George Mitchell of Peoria, vice-president and executive officer of the American Distilling Company, refused to meet the strike committee in the presence of an authorized labor official, but offered to deal "fairly" with the workers through an "impartial" committee composed of Mayor Schurman (who had been carrying out his wishes) and two others—Louis Moeschel, wartime manufacturer of gun-stocks and a former officer of the Pekin Association of Commerce, and Colonel Culbertson of the National Guard, whose home is in Delavan. Dr. Mitchell, too, doubtless wished for the National Guard.

No parade has been held by the union as planned. The weather is cold and the streets are slick. Anyway, everyone knows about the strike, they say. Everyone in Pekin does at least.

A "scab" taxi was upset and burned, a shot was fired through a company-union officer's window, a small bomb tore away a few boards from the side of a deputy's house. Who is to blame? No one can tell you—or at any rate, no one will.

Who were the two men in the big brown Packard? The union men can tell you that. And will. They asked the police and the sheriff to apprehend them. The police and sheriff didn't. The union men and State Parole Officer Kelly did. The two men had .38's, .45's, sawed-offs and gas grenades. They had been making smiling inquiries as to the whereabouts of union officials, business agents and organizers. One is a convict paroled from Joliet.

In Peoria, in other towns, companies of the National Guard are waiting. Meanwhile the town is quiet—quiet as a smoldering volcano.

W. D. TROWBRIDGE.

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Washington Notes

The Pittman Bill Gives Up the Ghost—Strong Opposition and Weak Support—The Nye Committee Points the Way

LAST WEEK the Pittman neutrality bill, sponsored by the administration, was suddenly and mysteriously given up for lost. As these notes are written, it seems likely that it will never be voted out of committee. Instead, the present temporary neutrality act, which otherwise would expire on February 29, will be extended for a year, together with additional prohibitions on loans to belligerent governments.

Unquestionably the Pittman bill has been faced by the determined opposition of business groups, notably the New York exporters. It has also been fought by the Texas oil independents, dazzled by the probably illusory prospect of big Italian oil contracts. But, to all appearances, the present critical state of the bill is in large measure due to the faint-heartedness of its nominal supporters. As nearly as I can determine, the first public hint that the Pittman bill would fail of enactment came, nearly two weeks ago, from the immediate advisers of Mr. Pittman himself. At that time, a duplicate of the Pittman bill had just been successfully steered through the House Foreign Affairs Committee by Chairman McReynolds, who forecast favorable action by the whole House. In Mr. Pittman's own committee in the Senate, only Messrs. Connally and Johnson had indicated that they would vote against it. Far from being dark, the prospects of the bill seemed especially rosy.

The pessimism of Mr. Pittman's advisers led to inquiries being made at the State Department, where the bill was written. To the astonishment of outsiders, a Department spokesman admitted that the administration had lost hope of having the bill enacted into law. A day or so later, Senator Johnson made public the thunderbolt-like indictment of John Bassett Moore, calling the bill "a curious blend of homicidal and suicidal mania." Friends of the bill anxiously sought a spokesman of equal authority to answer Judge Moore. In the right-wing, academic section of the peace movement, the so-called "World Court crowd," no one apparently was ready to champion the bill.

About the same time, it was learned that Senator Elbert D. Thomas of Utah (not to be confused with Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma, the inflationist leader) had offered a resolution in the Senate committee on foreign relations that, in effect, would mean the death of the Pittman bill. This was a staggering blow, for Mr. Thomas, a University of Utah professor, had previously been especially helpful to peace lobbyists, and had been counted on as a sure supporter of the bill.

The abrupt abandonment of the Pittman bill by the administration and the conservative section of the peace movement has not been explained, and on its face has an odd look. Nevertheless, it has apparently come about in a natural, even inevitable, fashion. The most pressing consideration was undoubtedly the gathering business opposition to a general embargo of wartime trade. Both the administration and the conservative peace group have vivid memories of last year's World Court fight, which went down to a humiliating defeat. They not only did not wish to risk a second beating, but they feared that a prolonged, open debate in the Senate would give comfort to Mussolini and have a chilling effect upon the sanctionist group in the League.

But deeper than this, I think, is a general uncertainty about the nature of neutrality that seems to have seized some of the most thoughtful administration members, and is shared by prominent peace advocates. Their thinking starts with the premise that many industries, particularly those producing specialized machinery, together with the whole cotton-growing South, are likely to be dependent on foreign sales for a large share of their profits. To stop these sales would injure business activity in general, and for this reason no iron-clad Jeffersonian embargo can be considered. Both the Pittman bill and the bill put forward by Senators Nye and Clark permit "normal" trade with belligerents and unrestricted trade with other neutrals.

After prolonged thought, administration advisers are becoming convinced that this normal-trade compromise raises more problems than it settles. It obviously permits business men a great degree of freedom. For instance, in another European war, the permitted "normal" trade that American nationals would be able to carry on with England and France would be very large. Our exports to those two countries totaled $500,000,000 in 1934, and $1,100,000,000 in 1929. With the stimulus of wartime prices, any such volume of trade would give us the same vested interest in war that we had in 1914-17. The problem of controlling trade with Canada, from which American products could be transshipped to Europe, would be immensely difficult. There would be innumerable ways of evading restrictions on loans to belligerents. For example, if British oil companies should dispose of properties in Latin America to United States interests, how could the British government be prevented from taking over the resulting credits and using them for the purchase of war supplies?

Speculation of this kind seems slowly to have forced administration advisers to the conclusion that neutrality can be safeguarded, if at all, only by the government's being given dictatorial powers over American banking and industry. Under powers analogous to those possessed by the Wilson administration in the War Finance Board and the War Industries Board, business trickery could perhaps be checked, and our foreign trade in wartime be kept genuinely neutral. But it is doubted whether a halfway measure, such as the Pittman bill, would be of any use whatever.

It is possible that business opposition would have doomed any sort of neutrality legislation more drastic than the present temporary act. But it is also apparent that the administration advisers are intellectually at sea, and unable to furnish the necessary leadership to Congress. For this, ironically enough, the revelations of the Nye committee seem to be partly to blame. They have made blindingly clear the dependence of foreign policy on foreign trade, and proved that a government that does not have means of controlling its bankers and industrialists is helpless in times of international crisis. But the administration shrinks from acting upon the Nye committee's findings and advocating the setting up of a social dictatorship when the next foreign war breaks out.

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Other People's Money

Net Results of the Morgan Inquiry—Don't Let the Straw Men Fool You— Our Financial Road to War

THE Morgans have come and gone before the Munitions Committee of the United States Senate. But the reader of the American newspapers who attempted to follow those final Morgan hearings is as completely in the dark about what took place there as if it had never occurred. Perhaps newspapermen wearied of the story; at any rate, it remains unreported to this minute.

The Morgans skillfully managed to make it appear that they and other American bankers were being charged with a sort of conspiracy to get us into the War; that they did this to make money out of the War. Also they set up the straw-man thesis that the American people went into the War for profit, because these fictitious assumptions could be very easily demolished.

Mr. Morgan and his partners asserted that the cause of our entry into the War was the Germans' ruthless submarine warfare. And various commentators on the hearings rushed forward to support this view.

The Munitions Committee, of course, never made any of the contentions with which they are credited. Certainly, the proximate cause of the War was the submarine warfare. If Germany had not used her undersea boats on American ships and British ships with American passengers we would not have gone into the War. Similarly, if Austria had not sent her ultimatum to Serbia, if the Grand Duke had not been assassinated at Sarajevo, if Russia had not rushed her mobilization, there would have been no Great War. But the student of history searching for the cause of wars does not pause at these final steps in the long series by which nations are led into war. He seeks ultimate causes. This is what the Munitions Committee was doing.

Its thesis was this: that when European nations hurled themselves at each other in 1914, American business men immediately sought to make money out of the disaster; that they strained every effort to sell to the belligerents; that they succeeded amazingly, so that from a depression in 1914 the nation rose to a boom condition by the end of 1916; that this business boom was built completely on the war trade; that this trade was wholly with the Allies; that this trade was made possible by our large loans to the Allies; that by this action we ceased to be neutral but became economic aids of the Allies and thus invited the train of events that brought us into the War; and finally, that our thinking about the War was conditioned by our material interests on the side of the Allies.

The Committee then sought to prove that all these fatal sequences could have been predicted; that they were not something which became visible when hindsight went to work, years later, but that they were in fact foreseen; that Bryan, the President, various newspapers, members of the Senate and House warned the nation against this course. But the nation was led in the opposite direction by the munitions makers and the bankers, who were getting rich blinded, to the awful consequences that they were brewing.

The Morgan firm contended that it never pretended to be neutral; that while President Wilson had urged neutrality upon the people, neutrality was impossible; that the whole nation took sides almost at once; and that the great majority of our people were sympathetic to the side of the Allies. As for the Morgan firm, it never made any claim of being other than wholeheartedly for the Allies and wishing to help them in every proper way.

In a sense all this is true. When the War broke out Americans promptly took sides. But also there occurred that inevitable phenomenon which never fails in a system like ours. There are certain acquisitive men among us who, in such a situation, instantly ask themselves what they can do to capitalize on the disaster. Whether it be a war, a flood or a pestilence, there are men who will promptly seek a way to turn the catastrophe to business account. Among the first to do this were the munitions makers and the bankers.

The Morgan firm very early made arrangements with Great Britain and France to float certain loans for them and then to act as the purchasing agent of the British government. Mr. Morgan testified that his firm's commissions were $30,000,000.

Very soon the need for financing in America by France and England was obvious. At that point Secretary of State Bryan warned the bankers that this would be an actual breach of neutrality. Referring to the openly expressed opinions of the people, he said: "These expressions of sympathy are disturbing enough when they do not rest upon pecuniary interest. They would be still more disturbing if each group were pecuniarily interested in the success of the nation to whom the members had loaned money."

Nevertheless the bankers continued their urgings at the State Department until they got Bryan reversed, first by the President's permission to permit commercial credits and then by the consent to large loans.

The Morgan firm was the leader in all this. And as a result, in the next three years a tremendous business in war materials was built up. How much this meant to the Morgans, may be seen from the figures supplied by the Committee. Exports to France increased 302 percent, to Italy 303 percent, to Russia 1,157 percent. During 1911, 1912 and 1913, exports of essential war materials were $125,000,000. But from 1915 to 1917, when the War was in progress, the essential war-material exports were $2,167,000,000. Of this total the business done by the export department of J. P. Morgan & Co. was $1,843,000,000—or 84 percent.

By the time we entered the War, this vast trade, along with other materials sold to the Allies, had started a boom in every line of business—and the Allies owed us $2,660,827,544. The Italians owed $25,000,000, the French $624,000,000, the Russians $86,000,000 and the British $1,496,000,000. These sums were due to bankers, trust companies, private investors. To the Morgans the British government owed a demand loan of $345,000,000.

But by the close of 1916, the end of all this was in sight. Here was a great boom built entirely on trade with one group of belligerents. Document after document from the

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the Committee revealed that the English were at the end of their resources. Shortly after our entry into the War, Spring Rice, the English Ambassador, wrote: "There is danger that the ability of His Majesty's government to effect payments in America from today onward will be in jeopardy."

This vast trade was threatened. These vast loans were threatened. André Tardieu, French representative in the United States, speaking of these loans and this trade, said: "From that time on, whether desired or not, the victory of the Allies became essential to the United States. . . . Between the Allies and the American market a common bond of interest had been created."

This was one reason why, as German submarines torpedoed English and American ships and cargoes, the great cry about human rights went up and took on the character of a great religious movement. The human rights, of course, were the rights of the American trader to sell instruments of death to the Allies. But Americans found no difficulty in giving vent to their passions, whipped up by idealistic slogans, on the side on which their boom and their billions were staked.

As the moment for our entry into the War arrived, the Morgan firm began to think about its demand loan from the British—$345,000,000. The War spirit was at white heat among us. The President had already intimated that our entry into the War would be followed by liberal credits to the Allies. This was the chief need of our going to war. Ambassador Page had cabled the President a month before; Secretary Lansing had said it over and over, that unless the Allies, whose credit was exhausted, could get financial aid from the American government, their purchases here would stop and the whole fabric of prosperity would collapse.

But before the actual declaration was made, arrangements had been made, out of the very first advances of money by the United States to Great Britain, to pay off the Morgan loan. A cable from Page to Secretary McAdoo July 5, some months after we entered the War, said: "Late yesterday I attended a financial conference of the Prime Minister, Chancellor, etc., about the $400,000,000 overdraft which the British government owes Morgan. They inform me that on April 6 [before we declared war—J.T.F.] Spring Rice telegraphed that he had received a definite promise that this sum would be paid the British government to meet this overdraft and that it should be the first call on the Liberty Loan. They say that April 9, the governor of the Bank of England received the same promises from Mr. McAdoo."

But events were to intervene. The Secretary of the Treasury set in motion the wheels for the first Liberty Loan. Then congressmen got cantankerous. What was to be done with this money? Bail out the bankers? Pay off the billions that were loaned the Allies by private banks and munitions makers and investors? Secretary McAdoo had to assure Congress that no such thing was contemplated. The money would all be spent in the United States and no part of it would be used to pay these old debts. No prohibition was put in the law. But that was the understanding and McAdoo's statement was referred to later as a "legislative commitment."

But at the very moment these assurances were being given and the law was being passed, the Morgans were pressing their campaign to be bailed out. They kept it up for many months. But after McAdoo's congressional experience, he was compelled to take the position that the Morgans would have to wait.

But the War went on. The vast sums loaned the Allies for purchases sent the pre-war boom to undreamed-of heights. The silk-shirt, fur-coat and dazzling-profit orgy of the home-town patriots got under way. The Munitions Committee story was carried through the subsequent events. Little by little, as the War progressed, the policy not to pay the pre-war Allied debts in this country broke down. As issue after issue fell due, the Treasury was forced to provide the funds to pay it off. Meantime the Morgans kept up pressure for their demand loan out of Treasury funds.

Finally, by February 1, 1918, a British bond issue of $92,000,000 matured. That issue was secured by a deposit of various securities. McAdoo agreed to pay the maturity, but he insisted that the securities which were deposited to protect the private investors should be made available to the Treasury, that is, that the Treasury should be subrogated to the private lenders' pledge of those securities. To this the British government agreed. About the same time, the U. S. Shipping Board made a payment of $80,000,000 to the British government. This was on account of certain British ships which were being built in our shipyards, which the U. S. government took over. The Morgans arranged to get this $80,000,000 in payment of their loan. This was not money loaned to the British, but paid them for their ships, and hence it did not come under the policy against paying the demand loan. But McAdoo demanded that the securities held by the Morgans should also be pledged to the U. S. Treasury. He insisted on subrogation here as well. The British refused to do this. And McAdoo was compelled to yield. These ships belonged to the British, but they had been largely paid for with funds borrowed from the United States. Hence McAdoo thought these funds should be used to offset advances being made by him.

As one private loan after another fell due in this country the French and Italian and British governments went to the Treasury to get the money to pay them off. Always the argument was made that default by one of our Allies would injure the whole cause. The government always had to yield. But always McAdoo insisted that the securities be pledged to the government. He succeeded each time.

In the end, however, all he got was an agreement that the British would deposit those securities. Finally the Treasury was urged not to demand the deposit. In fact an arrangement was made not to insist on it, under which the securities would be released when the British government entered into a definitive plan to take care of the whole debt. Thus the matter hung until Mellon became Secretary of the Treasury and the first plan for funding the British debt was made, when all the securities were turned back to England. Then it came about that while the government put up some $750,000,000 to pay off debts due to private lenders in this country, debts which were secured in part at least by pledges of securities, the United States did not get the collateral. The British got it.

It was a glorious War, but it did bail out the bankers.

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Hallelujah, Bum Again

"MODERN TIMES" is about the last thing they should have called the Chaplin picture, which has had one of the most amazing build-ups of interest and advance speculation on record. Its times were modern when the movies were younger and screen motion was a little faster and more jerky than life, and sequences came in forty-foot spurts, cut off by titles (two direct quotes here are "Alone and Hungry" and "Dawn"); when no one, least of all an officer of the law, could pass a day without getting a foot in the slack of his pants, when people walked into doorjambs on every dignified exit, stubbed toes everywhere on the straightway and took most of their edibles full in the face; when tables and chairs were breakaways, comedy was whiskers and *vice versa,* and heroes maneuvered serenely for minutes on abysses that were only too visible to the audience. It is in short a silent film, with pantomime, printed dialogue, and such sound effects as were formerly supplied by the pit band and would now be done by dubbing, except for Chaplin's song at the end. And not only that: it is a feature picture made up of several one or two-reel shorts, proposed titles being "The Shop," "The Jailbird," "The Watchman," "The Singing Waiter."

Part of this old-time atmosphere can be credited to the sets. The factory lay-out is elaborate and stylized, but not in the modern way or with the modern vividness of light and shadow; the department store might have been Wanamaker's in its heydey; the "dance" music is a cross between Vienna and a small-town brass band, twenty years old at least; the costumes are generally previous; and as to faces and types, Chaplin has kept a lot of old friends with him, types from days when a heavy was a heavy and Chester Conklin's moustache obscured his chin (still does). Above everything, of course, is the fact that the methods of silent days built up their tradition in group management and acting—in the first, a more formal explicitness, so that crowds gather jerkily from nowhere, emphasized players move stiffly front and center, the camera does less shifting; in the second, actors tend to underline their parts heavily and with copious motion (see the irate diner, see the hoity-toity wife of the parson, see Big Bill and the rest).

"Modern Times" has several new angles, principally those of the factory and the occasional off-stage reports of strikes and misery (the girl's father was shot in a demonstration). But they are incidental. Even in taking René Clair's conveyor-belt idea, for example, you can almost hear Chaplin, where Clair directed a complex hubbub, saying to one of his old trusties: You drop the wrench, I kick you in the pants, you take it big, see, and we cut to chase, got it? It has the thread of a story, Chaplin's meeting up with the orphan girl, very wild and sweet, and their career together. For the rest it is disconnected comedy stuff: the embarrassing situation, the embroilment and chase, and the specialty number, *e.g.,* the roller skates, the completely wonderful song-and-dance bit, the Chaplin idyll of a cottage and an automatic cow, beautiful with humor and sentiment. These things and the minor business all along the way—in jails, cafeterias, with oil cans, trays, swinging doors, refractory machinery—are duplicates, they

But such matters would not call for discussion if all together they did not set up a definite mood, a disturbing sense of the quaint. Chaplin himself is not dated, never will be; he is a reservoir of humor, master of an infinite array of dodges, agile in both mind and body; he is not only a character but a complex character, with the perfect ability to make evident all the shades of his odd and charming feelings; not only a touching character, but a first-class buffoon and I guess the master of our time in dumb show. But this does not make him a first-class picture maker. He may personally surmount his period, but as director-producer he can't carry his whole show with him, and I'll take bets that if he keeps on refusing to learn any more than he learned when the movies themselves were just learning, each successive picture he makes will seem, on release, to fall short of what went before. The general reaction to this one anyway is the wonder that these primitive formulas can be so genuinely comic and endearing.

There has been a furor here and there in the press about the social content of "Modern Times," and this could be skipped easily if Chaplin himself were not somehow confused (see his introduction to the film) over its worth as corrective comment. Well, the truth is that Chaplin is a comedian; he may start off with an idea, but almost directly he is back to type again, the happy hobo and blithe unregenerate, a little sad, a little droll. Whatever happens to him happens by virtue of his own naïve bewilderment, prankishness, absurd ineptitude and the constant support of very surprising coincidence. He couldn't keep a job or out of jail anywhere in the world, including the Soviet Union—that is, if he is to be true to the Chaplin character.

And Chaplin is still the same jaunty wistful figure, pinning his tatters about a queer dignity of person, perpetually embarked on an elaborate fraud, transparent to the world but never very much so to himself. He brings the rites and dignities of Park Avenue to the gutters of Avenue A, and he keeps it up unsmilingly until it is time to heave the pie, to kick the props out, to mock with gestures and scuttle off, more motion than headway, all shoes, hat, stick and chase. With him it is all a continuous performance, played with the gravity, innocence and wonder of childhood, but with ancient wisdom in the matters of sniping cigar butts and tripping coppers into the garbage pile. He is pathetic with the unhappiness of never never succeeding, either in crossing a hotel lobby without at least one header into the spittoon or in eating the steaks, chops and ham and eggs that are forever in his dreams; and yet he somehow cancels this or plays it down: when the ludicrous and debasing occurs, he picks himself up with serenity and self-respect, and when it is time for heartbreaks he has only a wry face, a shrug, some indication of that fall-to-rise-again philosophy that has made hoboing and destitution such harmless fun for his own special audience, the people of America. His life on the screen is material for tragedy, ordinarily. But on the screen he is only partly a citizen of this world: he lives mostly in that unreal happy land—you see the little figure walking off down the road toward it always into the fade-out—where kicks, thumps, injustice and nowhere to sleep are no more than a teasing and a jolly dream (Oh, with a little pang perhaps, a gentle Woollcott tear) and the stuff a paying public's cherished

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CORRESPONDENCE

Some Definite Advice on Neutrality

SIR: Keep (entirely) OUT of all foreign wars; and CUT OUT (by mandatory, not discretionary) legislation ALL that might again suck us IN. If less foreign war business (by so doing) is too great a PRICE to pay for peace, just remember that *war* will cost (a damned sight) *more;* with the human slaughter thrown in!

Cleveland, O. A. G. STAR.

Brazil Fights for Independence

SIR: My countrymen in Brazil need your help. They have been trying desperately to win their independence just as the people of the United States fought and gave their lives to win their freedom from England in 1776. Their latest effort to gain their independence has inspired the reactionary and unpatriotic Vargas government to a campaign of widespread persecution. The heroes who sought to save their country from national shame and economic degradation are now facing long-term imprisonment and, in many cases, death.

More than 2,000 people are now in jail in Rio de Janeiro alone, and the number for the entire country must total well over 4,000. Two hundred of these are scheduled to come up for trial early in February under the provisions of the National Security Act, which practically amounts to court martial. Meanwhile, the "state of siege" remains in effect and more arrests are taking place daily. One of the most recent victims of the terror is Anisio Teixeira, national Minister of Education, who has been dismissed from his post because of "advanced ideas" and placed under house arrest.

The Vargas government is an old hand at exercising tyranny. It has consistently violated the liberties guaranteed the people by the Brazilian Constitution. Trade-union headquarters were closed many months ago. Since then the National Liberation Alliance, which heads the independence movement, has been illegal. Only the government-controlled press is permitted to function openly. The present regime has seen fit to grant liberties only to the Integralists, a fascist-terrorist organization, and such other groups as support its reactionary policies.

The Brazilian people are doing all they can to fight against these conditions. But they need help from the outside. A committee is now being organized to offer that help; its immediate aim will be to campaign for amnesty for the November insurgents and to raise funds for their defense, and for the establishment of democratic liberties in Brazil.

I appeal to the readers of The New Republic to lend their support to this committee, either through the contribution of funds or participation in the work of the committee. Communications should be addressed to Joint Committee for Brazil, Room 534, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

New York City. MARINA LOPES.

A Conference for Youth

SIR: The National Youth Administration set up by President Roosevelt last summer has lived through half its existence without very much on the credit side. Projects are only now announced, and, all in all, the complete inadequacy of the N.Y.A. program is apparent today. There is hardly a social or educational agency that has not pointed out the inadequacy and deficiencies of the N.Y.A.

In direct contrast to the N.Y.A. is the program of the American Youth Congress, which sponsors and has introduced into Congress the American Youth Act, a bill providing for full educational opportunities and regular employment at regular wages for the young between sixteen and twenty-five. This is the first instance where the young themselves have taken their economic and social destiny into their own hands. Endorsements are pouring in from all over the country, from all sources.

In New York City the N.Y.A., the American Youth Act, and some of the outstanding problems of the [illegible] programs will be discussed in a citywide conference. Leading speakers from the trade unions, social work, education and youth administration will address this meeting and conduct specialized study commissions to gather the experiences of the young. This meeting takes place on February 15, at 1 p.m. at the Union Methodist Episcopal Church, 229 West Forty-eighth Street. All young people through their organizations are invited to this conference. Further information may be obtained at the American Youth Congress Office, 22 East Seventeenth Street, New York City.

ESTELLE ENGEL,

New York City. City Council Secretary.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Former Congresswoman Jeanette Rankin sends us a copy of a bill, H. R. 9134, introduced by Representative Boileau of Wisconsin, which is designed to restate the military policy of the United States. The bill calls for a unified Department of National Defense to include army, navy and air service with greatly reduced budgets and an organization designed only for the protection of the United States in case of actual invasion, this being in line with our renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy as provided in the Kellogg Pact.

J. Francis Lemon of Iola, Kansas, says that the Supreme Court has no constitutional right to veto acts of Congress, and offers the proposition that "A law is presumed to be constitutional until the contrary is demonstrated beyond doubt. While one judge opposes the majority, there is doubt existing in the mind of the court." Under these circumstances, thinks Mr. Lemon, the President should arm himself with writs and decrees from lower courts and go ahead and enforce the law.

Dr. I. W. Ruskin of Detroit sends an urgent appeal on behalf of the workers who are on strike against the Motor Products Corporation. Armed patrols, gas and machine guns have been used against the strikers, one of them was shot and killed, and many families, evicted from their homes, are suffering from malnutrition and exposure. Dr. Ruskin, as attending physician, says the strikers need food, clothing, medicines and money to keep the strike going, and asks that contributions be sent to him at the Motor Products Strike Relief Committee, 2966 Cass Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.

The International Relief Association, which looks after the interest of European refugees and publishes a Bulletin of oppositionist activities that are suppressed by dictatorial governments, is putting on a campaign to obtain wider circulation for its Bulletin. A sample copy will be sent free to any reader of The New Republic who writes to the International Relief Association, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. . . . A campaign is being instituted for the repeal of the Teachers' Loyalty Oath Law of New York State with a number of influential organizations participating. Persons wishing to sign blanks calling for the repeal of this law are asked to write to the Teachers' Union, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

A new monthly magazine, The Woman Today, is announced for publication in February by an editorial board consisting of Margaret Cowl, Grace Lumpkin, Thelma Nurenberg, Evelyn Preston, Grace Hutchins and Erna Lee. Editorial offices are at 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York City.

Martha Dreiblatt of the Theatre Union informs us that the play, "Let Freedom Ring," is now in its last weeks at the Civic Repertory Theatre in New York City and urges all persons interested in left-wing drama to see it before it closes.

The Houghton Mifflin Company sends an announcement of two literary fellowships, offered for 1936 to help writers of promise to obtain the financial independence essential to their development. Each fellowship, which may be given for a book project, fiction or non-fiction, will carry an award of $1,000, entirely in addition to and apart from subsequent royalties. Entries will close April 1, 1936. Application blanks with further particulars may be obtained

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Un Peu de Musique

II

IN THE first of these two articles I spoke of the difference between the audiences for music and those for the theatre, but more especially of musical criticism, as we have it, compared with the critical approach that the stage gets. I quoted from the daily newspaper criticism of musical events and inquired as to whether some of the theatre performances could not receive from us reviewers a degree of like detail, theory or point.

Following that theme, I will quote again, this time from the reviewing to be found in a monthly journal, where there has been more time for reflection on the critic's part and for a more considered placement of both the esthetic and seasonal items.

". . . when Madame Flagstad made her New York recital debut on December 11, in Carnegie Hall," Mrs. Marcia Davenport writes in the February issue of Stage, "it did not in the least surprise us to discover that this enormous and inexhaustible voice belongs even more basically to opera than we at first suspected. Madame Flagstad is not, for the ear demanding of warmth, subtlety, tenderness and intimacy, a concert singer. Grandeur, breadth and vast vocal power, together with an austere musical line, are all to the good in many operas, but they do not supply a lieder singer with . . .

"This recital, together with the one in the Town Hall that followed it on December 21, when a Strauss group was at least unenchanting, tended to a faint conviction that perhaps some of last year's magic was only magic, only an illusion. . . .

"When she sings the music of Isolde, Flagstad's voice begins to glow and shimmer as at no other time, and her superb musicianship is a constant delight. Just why the physical quality of a voice which is sometimes cold and sometimes even—to these ears—hollow should undergo a transformation into warmth and passion is one of the mysteries that make music divine."

Reading these passages, I reflect, for example, on what I might have written some few weeks ago on that short-lived production at the Empire Theatre of Miss Zoë Akins' "O Evening Star!" The play undoubtedly had grave faults; it was often prolonged before reaching its chief moments and sometimes it was merely novelistic, not dramatic, writing. And certainly it was one of those plays that depend on glamor to a very great extent, on the security of persuading us towards wonder and human magnetism. Nevertheless, the play was better than most reviewers found it to be; and we should have done well to take up critically and technically the leading performance, on which the fortune of this piece perhaps excessively hung. We might have undertaken to analyze the peculiar paralysis that Miss Jobyna Howland's performance brought to this role and thereby to the whole event. Take only that early scene, almost the entire first act, when the down-and-out actress is given a party by her hostess with the purpose of bringing her into contact with the leading producers and directors in Hollywood. Various members of this august society appear: the actress is left alone with one after another of vein, a vague one at that. But, obviously, the necessity here was that the player should conceive each meeting as a separate problem. We, as audience, should have been, what's more, diverted with a perfectly conscious sense of the player's approach to each scene; we should have been made to delight in her conception. She should not only have played each of these small scenes making up the whole, she should also have *appeared* to play them. To this observation must be added another, the necessity for brightness, for edge, for the remembrance that theatre is theatre, as music always remembers that it is living sound.

These points hold even more perilously for Miss Howland's moments at the play's final curtain, where the aged actress after her triumph lies down alone with death on that couch whose background is the great window fretted with stars. In such a scene one cannot merely lie down, relaxed like that, as if whatever the sum of the player is will be enough. A terrific projection is necessary. Woe to the player who at such moments forgets the maxim that the same wind that kindles fires snuffs candles . . . *le vent éteint les bougies et allume le feu.* The acting here must be like singing when the music withdraws its support, leaving the voice for a time to go on alone; you can hear the singer put into it an added pressure and call.

There is another point to reflect upon. The conditions of production, the number of performances given, and so forth, come into the case, of course. But we may note, nevertheless, the differing attitudes of the audiences for music and for the theatre. In Wagner, for example, or at least in one aspect of him, sentimental, romantic notions that are wholly dated elsewhere in other arts, and that have been thrown into the discard in poetry or the stage or painting or sculpture or decoration, are accepted. When a pleasing Shakespearean production occurs, everyone is busy explaining its novelty or the innovation introduced, often with an implied surprise that Shakespeare can be interesting. It is only a tiny portion of Shakespeare that is accepted. Least of all do we accept the essential mind, or poetic quality, that is common to Shakespeare and his epoch.

The same difference occurs in the acceptance of forms. I have often sat listening to a symphony of Beethoven's and been obliged to divide the music's claims with my own reflections on what was accepted here. People will listen without any remonstrance to those forms—often seemingly traditional or obligatory, like the "Hail, Muse" of the eighteenth-century poets—with which Beethoven precedes or follows the longer intervals that are the main soul of his composition. All these sawings, academic arabesques and flourishes would be tolerated in no other art but music. This fact does not bear solely on the esthetics of music as an art. Nor does it imply that music is more bound down in tradition than the theatre is. It does imply that music as an art exhibits more distinctly and readily its own singular nature. If it is true that all art approximates a state of music, it could be suggested that theatre criticism might well study the criticism, however good or bad, that is accorded to music. The whole implication, even of any mediocre criticism of music, is that a body of art is being considered as such and not as a non-technical muddle between life and craft.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

A Town and Its Novels

ABERDEEN, Washington, is a lumber town on Grays Harbor, at the westernmost point of the United States. There are twenty-four big mills around the Harbor, capable of producing about a billion feet of lumber a year; there is a large Finnish population there, a big Filipino colony, a considerable number of half-breeds from the Chehalis, Quinalt and Taholah tribes, a large proportion of Southerners who have drifted to the Northwest as part of that great and unanalyzed migration of whites from the South. The town is built on a narrow shelf of flat land; huge, anonymous, logged-off hills lie all around it; the mountains are visible on clear days, but there are not many clear days. Aberdeen is in one of the rainiest sections of the world; about ten feet of rain falls there each year, as compared with less than three feet in Seattle, a hundred miles away. It is almost entirely a working-class community. The major stores are chain stores, and most of the mill officials are hired representatives of Eastern capitalists; the absorbent layer of shopkeepers, small owners and professional people that in other places acts as a sort of cushion to break the clash of class antagonisms—or prevents their being recognized plainly for what they are—is numerically and culturally unimportant. Consequently, class lines are firmly drawn, and the classes can scarcely be said to be in that "state of flux, with a persistent interchange of their elements" which Marx once observed to be a condition of American society in general. The history of the town is a record of violent labor disputes. The Wobblies were strong there during the War; the Ku Klux Klan got control of the city administration in 1925; the trade-union movement, intermittently powerful, had no continuity, so that organizational gains made during strikes were dissipated in the periods of relative inactivity between them.

Aberdeen has provided the background for a number of recent novels, and all of them have been labor novels. All, that is, have pictured strikes which were strikes of desperation and despair, and in which workers who were very militant but not very sensible took an awful beating at the hands of their exploiters. Louis Colman got most of the material for "Lumber" while he was on strike at the Wilson mill, where he had been working as an off-bearer on the vertical resaw. The kind of society that Aberdeen represents more or less determined the background of my own novels. The town is not definitely identified in Clara Weatherwax's "Marching, Marching!"[1] but she grew up there—her people founded the place, in fact—and it is clearly recognizable, in all its impressive turbulence, to anyone who has ever visited it. Indeed, the major fault of the book seems to me to spring from its being so packed with local allusions for which no explanations are given that anyone coming from outside Grays Harbor County might miss the significance of its strongest qualities and lose the savor of its best descriptions.

Miss Weatherwax's strongest point is her very keen eye for the minute detail of workers' jobs—she knows the kind of work that edgermen and trimmers and doggers do in a modern mill, and she writes about it with animation. The best descriptions in "Marching, Marching!" are equally local; they include glimpses of that strange throng of migratory workers who dig for razor clams in the sands of the North Pacific, and whose strangeness and isolation Miss Weatherwax does not seem to recognize; they include pictures of life in a whaling station, in a paper mill and a logging camp. Miss Weatherwax seems to take it for granted that these exotic industrial scenes are as familiar to everyone as they are to her, and the reason for their inclusion in the novel is obvious. Writers who grow up in a community where they are conscious of the lack of any tradition of creative writing behind them—as they certainly are in the Northwest—respond in one of two ways: they either feel that the miscellaneous, perishable life around them, without history and without elevated associations, is not worth writing about, or they are overwhelmed and made incoherent by the unwritten, unrecognized novelty and richness which they see and sense, but which they cannot organize into any artistic pattern. Everything clamors to be written about; every incident demands its new stage setting and every stage setting demands its history. Miss Weatherwax is a writer of this second type: the life of her town seems to present itself to her as a mass of sharp impressions, each atomized, distinct, but with no developments and continuities apparent in them.

Thus, almost every chapter of "Marching, Marching!" could serve as the synopsis of a novel—a proletarian novel, melodramatic, full of revolutionary forebodings and violent death. The story deals with a Filipino organizer, Mario, who is kidnaped and tortured in an attempt to halt a lumber strike; but in the profusion of plots a dozen half-told tales stand out as equally important. There is an illegitimate son of a mill owner, a stool pigeon who has a change of heart; a conscience-stricken whore who identifies Mario's kidnapers; an aged newsboy who commits suicide when he loses his job; a clam digger who dreams of organizing a clam diggers' union; a saloonkeeper whose bar is closed because he is sympathetic to the strikers. The characters, for the most part, seem to be communist magicians: they appear, get involved in the most intricate and terrifying complications and then, when their troubles have reached a climax, they vanish from the novel, uttering revolutionary sentiments. The book ends when a strike is called and the masses of workers are shown parading toward the ranks of troopers, who are drawn up ready to shoot them down.

It happens that the labor novels based roughly on the life of Aberdeen have all pictured strikes that had such unhappy conclusions. In actuality, however, the general lumber strike that took place there last year was won by the strikers, hands down—the Sawmill and Timber Workers' Union was recognized, a measure of job control was established, the town as a whole was unionized, the Labor Party elected a few people to office. The lumber strike itself, although it received little publicity, was one of the biggest in American labor history, and the conflict in Aberdeen was decisive in determining the immediate future of the organized labor movement of a whole area and a major industry. But you could never have anticipated that from the general picture of the working class described by the novelists of that center of Western culture. If you based your judgment on Miss Weatherwax's picture of the

[1] Marching, Marching! by Clara Weatherwax. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. (...)

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ates, you might have expected the workers to make a desperate lunge for better conditions; you could not have imagined them going through the sensible drudgery of organization, changing their tactics or winning their strike. The novelists insensibly patronized the workers they wrote about. They knew that the masses were on the move, but they did not know where they were going; and in their hearts they feared that the militant working class, its ranks solid and its morale high, was marching, marching! smack against a stone wall.

ROBERT CANTWELL.

Assays of Bias

Shakespeare's Imagery and What It Tells Us, by Caroline F. E. Spurgeon. New York: The Macmillan Company. 423 pages. $4.50.

Where Shakespeare Stood: His Part in the Crucial Struggles of His Day, by Donald Morrow. With an Introduction by Granville Hicks. Milwaukee: The Casanova Press. 89 pages. $1.

MISS Spurgeon's book and Mr. Morrow's might well have had, in very different senses of Polonius' phrase, the same title: Assays of Bias; and the reader who understood both senses would have grasped the values of the two books and the differences between them. As Miss Spurgeon rejected the title because she knew it would be misunderstood, so Mr. Morrow should have taken it for his own, because no one could have doubted that his wrong meaning was the right one. Mr. Morrow's book makes a series of statements on an intellectual, argumentative plane, based on the minimum data, which attempt to show where Shakespeare stood with respect to the class struggle of his time. He values or assays, in the current sense of the words, the political bias of Shakespeare in terms of his own political bias, which is Marxist. His bias both gives him direction and supplies him with a target. There are passages in the Histories of intense patriotism and there are passages of political anti-Catholicism. Therefore—I simplify but I do not think I defame—in the struggle between an expiring Catholic feudalism and a rising Protestant commercialism, Shakespeare was on the commercial, expansive, forward-moving side. This is the direction; the target is life. "When all else is said of Shakespeare," Mr. Morrow writes in conclusion, "the fact remains that in expressing this class he belonged with the movement forward. His work, as the entire Renaissance, was on the side of life." Than which, of a great writer, no conclusion could be more foregone.

Thus what Mr. Morrow's tract comes to is a conversion into intellectual terms of the sort of thing a Communist can feel about Shakespeare, not as a poet, but as a fresh source of party strength. Despite Mr. Hicks's Introduction to the contrary, I cannot see how this version of Shakespeare is of much help to the Communist; it leaves out all that we actually get from Shakespeare and nowhere else, it leaves out—perhaps, worse, it merely takes for granted—the poetry that alone makes the dead politics interesting. If the Communist wants Shakespeare to help him, the poetry will have to come first in his considerations as it does in his experience: the poetry, the struggle of language to represent or mirror the struggle of life, is, when we are reading a poet, the substance of which all other struggles are only the accidents seen by our biased [illegible] I think, for example, that Mr. Morrow could show class struggle by reconstructing the emotions and the insight irreducibly in the language of the plays than he ever can by applying abstractions of political loyalties that Shakespeare may never seriously have felt at all.

In such an undertaking, Miss Spurgeon's study of Shakespeare's imagery would be of great practical use, as it indeed must be of great use in the work and pleasure of reading Shakespeare from any point of view which has a regard for the poetic values of language. Our deepest feelings become our most precise emotions, the actual quality of our life reaches its only manifest, in the images of great art: the great images unite and crown the rest, the lesser images adorn it. Miss Spurgeon has collected, compared and arranged the bulk of the images of Shakespeare; and by means of her collection she approaches a number of the fundamental aspects of the plays. Far from exhausting her approach, she only shows its potential fertility. She shows us, for example, that the emotion we can only name as our whole experience of "Hamlet" is dominated by images of disease and digestion, and that "The Tempest" is dominated by images of sound. Could she have used the title she denied herself, her method would have been self-explained. All uses of the word bias in Shakespeare are derived from the game of bowls, in which the bias is the curve or special twist, the indirection, which the bowler gives the ball in order to strike the jack where the straight bowl would miss. Both the study and the composition of poetry depend on assays of bias, whether the immediate interest be in the movement of life or in the further movement of language to express it. The reader who knows this will know what it is that Miss Spurgeon's evidence of the dominance of sound-images tells him about "The Tempest," and will know also why Mr. Morrow's direct approach misses its target.

R. P. BLACKMUR.

Founding Father

John Jay: Defender of Liberty, by Frank Monaghan. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 497 pages. $4.

JOHN JAY was most active in the heroic and exciting days when a revolution had carved out a new nation, and the lines of the polity were being laid down. Nevertheless, despite the excitement of the period, and despite Mr. Monaghan's scrupulously written and yet dramatic biography, Jay remains essentially a second-rate figure—stiff, aristocratic, rectitudinous. More than anyone else he seems shaped by the historical contradiction that made revolutionists out of conservative aristocrats and, after the revolution was over, made them back into conservative aristocrats again. One of Jay's maxims was that "those who own the country ought to govern it," and being one of the owners he devoted his life conscientiously to governing.

His career as diplomat brought him honor, and later (because of the savagely attacked treaty of 1794 with England) obloquy. But today it is his tenure as the first Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court that is of greatest interest. In that position his nationalism was as extreme as Marshall's was to be. He astonished even moderate Federalists (in Chisholm v. Georgia) by ruling that a sovereign state could be sued by a citizen of another state. And in the Hayburn Case, sitting in Circuit, he refused to conform to an act of Congress relative to the Court's jurisdiction on the ground that it was unconstitutional. He lacked, however, Marshall's mastery over his colleagues and lacked, as he lacked also the great occasions

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Despite impeccable scholarship, the general temper of Mr. Monaghan's book is somewhat pro-Federalist. The subtitle begins "John Jay: Defender of Liberty against Kings and Peoples." If this is liberty, it is so only in the sense in which the word is being used today by the Liberty League.

MAX LERNER.

"Pyschology with Soul"

The Evolution of Contemporary Psychology, by Richard Müller-Freienfels. Translated by W. Beran Wolfe. New Haven: Yale University Press. 530 pages. $5.

A Briefer General Psychology, by Gardner Murphy. New York: Harper and Brothers. 590 pages. $3.25.

THE TITLE, jacket and translator's introduction to the first book are all misleading. Müller-Freienfels gives us a survey not of contemporary psychology but of one important trend in Germany. Two-thirds of his references and vastly more of the discussion center around strictly Teutonic thinking.

Now, much of this German psychology is pretty unfamiliar to us. Two persuasive and charming missionaries have indeed brought the Gestalt movement to this country and have partly naturalized it here. But *geisteswissenschaftliche Psychologie* and what our translator renders as the "psychology with 'soul'" are understood as ill by most Americans as is the geography of Nebraska by most Europeans. We have heard tales, names, doctrines, and a few intrepid travelers have returned from Germany to expound them to us, but we lack the ideological background to grasp what it is all about.

The divergence between the German and the American development may be traced back to the time when psychology abandoned the study of the soul and set out to be a science devoted to the analysis of conscious contents or conscious experience. On both sides of the Atlantic the inadequacies of such a science became increasingly apparent. The revolt in America crystallized in behaviorism but was implicit in several older tendencies and explicit with McDougall as early as 1912. Watson simply acted as catalyzer.

Two things are now quite apparent. Behaviorism is dead without lineal descendant, yet it has left us an important legacy. A consideration of the history of the recent past correlated with contemporary tendencies should enable us to see this legacy in perspective and aid us in plotting the strategy of future research. It would indicate that Watson's denial of conscious processes is not significant. On the other hand, his insistence that the task of psychology is to describe what the organism is doing is the keynote of contemporary American psychology (and of a vast part of English, French and Russian work). The psychology of performance has replaced the psychology of conscious experience.

None of this is seen by Müller-Freienfels in focus. Behaviorism's pragmatic bent and its sturdy anti-metaphysical bias are not made central because they do not illuminate the German development in which he is primarily interested. His historical survey selects, that is to say, just those aspects of reality which least help us to understand ourselves.

The German revolt against the analysis of mind, he makes clear, has taken a different turn. The strong idealistic tendency in Germany, momentarily checked so far as psychology was concerned in the 80's and 90's, has again triumphed. Those of us who have hoped that the development might be suggestive for our own progress are doomed, unless our author misleads us, to disappointment. The main stream of German psychology has turned back to dialectics and intuitionism. Even so, of course, it is not wholly without significance and for those interested in this philosophical psychology, Müller-Freienfels is a useful guide.

Murphy's textbook stands at nearly the opposite pole from the philosophical approach. He sets forth four principles as the frame of reference within which the details treated may be seen. All four are inductive generalizations, three of definitely experimental origin. It is significant that the author found it necessary to isolate them in the foreword; in the larger, earlier edition of his "General Psychology" they had been submerged in the mass of facts.

The shorter book is still preëminently factual. Classification and theoretical discussion are minimized and all the emphasis thrown upon a clear description of the activities of human creatures. The layman unfamiliar with the development of psychology in recent years or thinking of the science only in terms of warring "schools" will be amazed at the range of problems that are yielding, step by step, to experimental investigation. The style is fluent and simple and the many pictures and diagrams add to both interest and clarity. In neither good nor bad sense is this a popular book; it is a textbook. But it offers the best elementary survey I know of what American psychology is about.

HORACE ENGLISH.

But Not Consuming

Report of the National Survey of Potential Capacity, compiled under the direction of Harold Loeb. New York: New York Housing Authority, Emergency Relief Bureau. 381 pages. $4.

THIS IS an informative and challenging book on one of the most vital contemporary questions: Have we the means to produce plenty? Its answer is a forthright Yes, tempered by some specific modifications: in some industries we have capacity well in excess of any reasonable need (*e. g.,* radio sets) while in some others we have a deficiency (*e. g.,* milk) which can be readily met if only the people have the price to pay. Orientation to a rapidly changing economic environment is indeed the gravest of problems now facing mankind. The report I have here officially serves this purpose, both because it is a well documented authoritative proof of the fundamental change in our economy and because it points the way for synchronizing our mode of living with modern technology.

Around this question of our productive capacity, dispute was warm for years. Columbia University's report, based on expert opinion of engineers and industrialists, claimed that in 1929 hardly more than half of our productive capacity was utilized. The Brookings Institution's "America's Capacity to Produce," contrariwise, tried, by assaying less than half of our industries and none of our services, to show that in 1929 a mere 19 percent of productive capacity remained idle. "The National Survey of Potential Product Capacity" demonstrates that even during the height of our activities we could have produced some 80 percent more (in value) than we did.

This report is the result of months of labor on the part of engineers, agronomists, economists and technicians,

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publication of its findings ("The Chart of Plenty," by Harold Loeb) was termed by Professor Charles A. Beard one of the most significant books of the twentieth century. Indeed, this work is monumental in more than one respect. Call it boondoggling if you will, but it established a novel method for such research. It did not shrink before the cyclopean work of following up through all the stages of productive activities from farming and extracting minerals to processing, manufacturing of parts, assembly, transportation and meeting the consumer's demand.

The Flow Chart offers an unprecedented and valuable guide to the consecutive stages of our economy and graphically shows excesses, increments and deficits encountered in various fields and steps of processing. The methodology, though limiting the task only by technical means, never left the solid ground of facts. It reduced all the comparisons and data to the requirements of a liberal budget instead of contemplating mere theoretical possibilities. On the other hand, though a 1929 dollar was accepted as the common denominator, it was accepted not as a financial device or symbolic money, but as a frame of reference for expressing the relative incongruity between the "demand" (limited by purchasing power) and "budget" (a desirable standard of living).

Thus, in the final collation, the comparisons are made in three terms of expression. For instance: 29,090,000 men's suits were *produced* in 1929; the *capacity* then was sufficient to produce 79,110,000 suits, but the liberal standard of living for everyone, irrespective of the present income distribution, *called for* 67,000,000 suits. In this thorough, painstaking manner the report examines the requirements and the means for meeting them, through agriculture, forest products, minerals, fuels and energy, chemicals, textiles and clothing, food processing, construction, printing and publishing, transportation, health, education, recreation, foreign trade, labor requirements, etc.

It is to be regretted that the lack of funds appropriated for the publication of this historical report necessitated many abridgements and editorial cuts. Often the technological background had to be omitted from pages that otherwise include material of absorbing interest. But even with this limitation, the report as it stands presents a wealth of information no reference library or educated person can afford to be without. WALTER N. POLAKOV.

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HARPER & BROTHERS

Though the Field Be Lost

In Dubious Battle, by John Steinbeck. New York: Covici, Friede. $2.50.

DESPITE his preoccupation with localized atmosphere, John Steinbeck has always written of the common people as one of them, with an intense love of their simplicity and heartiness and what might in the best sense be called their vulgarity. His leading characters have been good earthy men who have lived life in the full. But they have gone down in some form of defeat. Now Steinbeck has identified his characters with the class struggle, and although in the present novel they fight a battle whose outcome is dubious, they taste a promise of victory such as their predecessors have not known. It is a victory of integration for them and for their author as well; and the proletarian novelists have been reinforced by one of the ablest young writers in the country.

The foreground heroes of this story are two young agitators, an old hand and a greenhorn, who are controlling a strike of fruit-pickers. They are likable and always real. Besides the struggle of keeping the strike going against crushing odds, they have fierce internal conflicts between their momentary feelings and their devotion to the long view. And through them and beyond them runs the story of the background heroes, the migratory workers who have been practically dehumanized before the start of the story. You sense the strike awaking them, restoring their humanity: another thousand men have been aroused to resistance by the wholesale sadism of hired bullies, and even though this strike is lost, with some of the strikers brutally murdered, you know the others will carry on the fight on other fronts.

Steinbeck creates a marvelously living world here, very full and vivid. You get the feel of the whole place, the zombie-men coming to life, then all the tension of resentment and opposition—you sympathize strongly and want hard to participate. Many of the surrounding characters are done in the flat—all the strikers and all the opposition—but Jim and Mac are very good people and they take you with them. Their development (that of Jim especially) is interesting to watch, and the cool way they go after things. Steinbeck sees them, he sees all of his people, sympathetically; he has a great tenderness; and he goes wholehog, pulling none of his punches.

"In Dubious Battle" cannot be dismissed as a "propaganda" novel—it is another version of the eternal human fight against injustice. It is an especially good version, dramatically intense, beautifully written without being too literary for the subject matter, and its climaxes have a sweeping power. It is the real thing; it has a vigor of sheer story-telling that may sweep away many prejudices and win it the wide audience it deserves.

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Books in Brief

Simple Science, by Julian Huxley and E. N. da C. Andrade. New York: Harper and Brothers. 702 pages, illustrated. $3.50.

THE TITLE is apt. Two of the best known scientists in England—a physicist and a biologist—make, in this fat little book, a determined effort to show the layman how nature works, from star and galaxy to atom and gene. Believing that a knowledge of concrete facts should precede a study of basic principles, the authors, with the help of hundreds of homely examples and dozens of drawings, tell us of such fundamental things as movement, force and energy; of water, air and the life process; of the human body and its ways; of electricity, magnetism, optics and chemistry. There is not a mathematical formula in the whole volume, an omission which was quite deliberate and to which few of its intended readers will object. One warning: because it *is* so simple, there is necessarily much simplification, and many questions will remain to be answered by further study. H. W.

The Life and Times of Major John Mason: 1600-1672, by Louis B. Mason. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 350 pages. $3.

Louis B. Mason's life of that Connecticut worthy Major John Mason is full of irrelevant material, and the proofreading is atrocious, but the book depicts thoroughly the social and economic problems of pioneer life. Major John Mason was the first settler of four towns and important as a magistrate, but his chief claim to distinction was the capture of the Pequot fort in 1637. In this, as in every civilized invasion of primitive territory from Caesar in Britain to the present Italian attack on Ethiopia, the invaders would have been almost helpless unless they had exploited tribal jealousies to acquire native allies. Uncas the Mohegan sachem was so useful to Major Mason that thereafter the major took his part even when he despoiled the friendly Narragansetts, to the displeasure of Roger Williams. The book thus tells rather more than most biographies about the daily round of colonial life, and so is exceptionally interesting to the local antiquarian. J. G.

Freedom and the Spirit, by Nicholas Berdyaev. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 381 pages. $3.75.

Nicholas Berdyaev is perhaps best known for his attempts to reconcile Marxism with spiritual idealism. He was a fervent revolutionary in his youth and suffered imprisonment and exile for his attacks on the Tsarist regime; after the Revolution he was appointed to the chair of Philosophy in the University of Moscow, but his growing mysticism antagonized the Soviet authorities, and he was finally expelled in 1932. "Freedom and the Spirit" represents his latest stage, and it is the most complete exposition in English of his supernaturalism; it is also a good indication of how far he has gone from his primitive Christian socialism in the direction of an orthodox Catholicism. Berdyaev's contribution to social philosophy—when it was intelligible—was too unsystematic to be of much consequence. As a religious thinker he occupies a unique place in the history of mysticism, for no one since Pascal has tried so laboriously to justify religious exaltation and intensity by rational means, and no one—with the possible exception of St. Augustine—has woven such an argument so simply into the telling of a personal story. A. K.

Books for Readers and Writers

READING AND WRITING

THE CRAFT OF FICTION, by Percy Lubbock. $2. Peter Smith, 347 Fifth Ave., New York.

THE WRITER'S ART, edited by Rolo Walter Brown. $2.50. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

WRITING FOR PROFIT, by Donald Wilhelm. $3.00. Whittlesey House, 330 West 42nd Street, New York.

DICTIONARIES

STANDARD DICTIONARY SERIES; NEW STANDARD DICTIONARY (Unabridged). The one great authority on words. Buckram, indexed, $18; sheep, indexed $22. **PRACTICAL STANDARD DICTIONARY,** cloth, $5; Fabrikoid, $6; Full Leather, $7.50. Funk & Wagnalls Company, 354 Fourth Ave., New York.

DICTIONARY OF PHRASE AND FABLE, by E. C. Brewer. New edition, popular price. $3.50. J. B. Lippincott Co., Washington Sq., Phila.

CROWELL'S DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH GRAMMAR: A Handbook of American Usage, by Maurice H. Weseen, 714 pages, 8vo. Cloth $3.50. Thomas Y. Crowell Company 393 Fourth Avenue, New York.

DICTIONARY OF FOREIGN TERMS. Found in English and American Writings of Yesterday and Today, by C. O. Sylvester Mawson, $2.00. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 393 Fourth Avenue, N. Y.

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HOYT'S NEW CYCLOPEDIA OF PRACTICAL QUOTATIONS, revised by Kate Louise Roberts. $7.50. Funk & Wagnalls Company, 354 Fourth Ave., New York.

Note

This directory, published in the third issue of every month, is designed to advertise those Standard Works of Reference, Handbooks, Dictionaries, and Anthologies and such helps for readers and writers as will be of particular interest to the audience that The New Republic reaches. The books here presented have been carefully selected by the various publishers with the needs of the intelligent reader and practicing or developing writer especially in mind. The New Republic feels that in the monthly publication of this directory a real service will be performed for both its readers and the publishers. Because its content will vary from month to month, we suggest that you regularly check the listings for your immediate needs.

LITERARY HISTORY

LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY; cloth, $2.50, leather $3.50. Descriptive list of the series on application to Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

POETRY AND PROSE

ENGLISH POETS: ROMANTIC, VICTORIAN AND LATER, by James Stephens, E. L. Beck and R. H. Snow, with Introduction by Stephens. $6. **ENGLISH ROMANTIC POETS,** $3. **VICTORIAN AND LATER,** $4. American Book Co., 88 Lexington Ave., New York.

THE USE OF POETRY AND THE USE OF CRITICISM, by T. S. Eliot, $2.00. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

ANTHOLOGIES

AN ANTHOLOGY OF LIGHT VERSE, Edited by Louis Kronenberger. No. 48 in the MODERN LIBRARY, 95c. Send for list of 236 titles, to: 20 E. 57 St., N. Y. City.

GREAT AMERICANS AS SEEN BY THE POETS, an anthology by Burton Stevenson. $3.50. J. P. Lippincott Co., Washington Sq., Phila.

ENCYCLOPEDIA

NEW INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPEDIA, Popular-priced edition. Write for full particulars. Funk & Wagnalls Company, 354 Fourth Ave., New York.

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DESK BOOK OF ERRORS IN ENGLISH, $1.50; **DESK BOOK OF 25,000 WORDS FREQUENTLY MISPRONOUNCED,** $2.50; **HOW TO USE ENGLISH,** $2.50; **HOW TO SPEAK ENGLISH EFFECTIVELY,** $1.75; and **WORDS WE MISSPELL,** $1.50, by Frank H. Vizetelly. Funk & Wagnalls Company, 354 Fourth Ave., New York.

WORDS CONFUSED AND MISUSED, by Maurice H. Weseen, $2.00. "More intelligently compiled than any other book." Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 393 Fourth Avenue, New York.

GENERAL

THE FOREGROUND OF AMERICAN FICTION, by Harry Hartwick. $2.50. American Book Co., 88 Lexington Ave., New York.

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I Met a Gypsy, by Norah Lofts. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

In a convent disbanded by Henry Tudor's soldiers, a gypsy girl rebels from her vows and thrusts herself into the world. Through five centuries and in as many countries her descendants reveal this initial strain of spirit and fire by a recurrence of similar reactions to widely dissimilar situations. The prevailing trait in Miss Lofts's characters is to spot out what they want, and to clamp down upon it with a total disregard for obstacles. Their actions are thus both a defense and a fulfilment of their personalities. Most of the stories are set in far-off places and unusual circumstances—in India, in China, on islands which hang in the sea like drippings from the continents. Obviously Miss Lofts has gone out of her way in search of color; but the color is not all cheap chemical alloy: some of it throws back bright flashes of inspiration. "I Met a Gypsy" may swagger with the art of story-telling, yet it exudes the warmth of emotional maturity. F. V.

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The New Generation, a lecture on the ideas of the young men and women just graduated from college, by **JAMES WECHSLER,** author of **"Revolt on the Campus."** Chairman, **JOSEPH P. LASH** of the National Student Union. Monday, Feb 17, at 8:20. Hotel Delano, 108 W. 43rd. Auspices: League of American Writers. Admission: 35c.

DR. MARK GRAUBARD, author of **Genetics and the Social Order,** will speak Monday, February 17, at 8 P.M. on IS THERE A SUPERIOR RACE? Brooklyn Heights Forum, Hotel Touraine, 284 Fulton Street, Brooklyn. Admission 20 cents.

Contributors

HAMILTON BASSO is well known for his novels about the South ("Cinnamon Seed," "In Their Own Image") and for his reports of Southern politics.

ALBION A. HARTWELL is executive secretary of the Interprofessional Association. The material appearing in the article in the present issue of The New Republic is part of a study made in collaboration with Dr. Caroline Whitney and soon to be published in pamphlet form under the title "Professional Workers Today."

CAROLINE WHITNEY holds the Simon N. Patten fellowship of the American Academy of Political and Social Science for a study of trade unionism among professional workers.

W. D. TROWBRIDGE lives in Green Valley, Illinois. He attended the University of Illinois and has written poems and short stories as well as magazine articles.

R. P. BLACKMUR has published verse and criticism in various magazines. He recently edited the critical preface of Henry James for Scribners.

MAX LERNER, formerly lecturer in Government at Harvard University, has joined the board of editors of The Nation.

HORACE ENGLISH is professor of Psychology at Ohio University. He is the author of a widely used "Student's Dictionary of Psychological Terms" and is a frequent contributor to psychological journals.

WALTER N. POLAKOV, a consulting management engineer, has served as adviser to the Supreme Economic Council of the Soviet Union and was also a consulting engineer for the Tennessee Valley Authority.

HARRY THORNTON MOORE has written for The New Republic and other magazines both in the United States and in Great Britain, where his first novel is soon to be published.

The initials signed to the brief reviews are those of Harold Ward, Joe Gould, Alfred Kazin and Frances Valensi.

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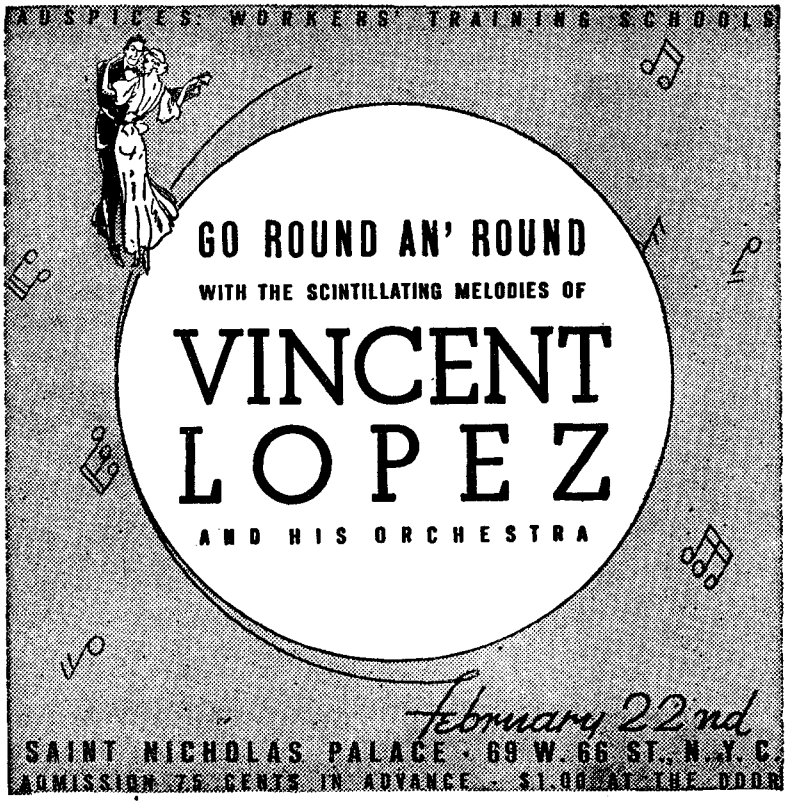
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